THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 156 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · JUNE 26, 1943 NUMBER 26

IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 877

EDITORIALS

Czar or Subsidies 879
British Labor Marks Time 880
Expediency in Argentina *by Freda Kirchwey* 881

ARTICLES

How Weiner Was Tractored Out *by I. F. Stone* 882
Strategy for Negroes *by James Boyd* 884
Decline of the Sea Wolves *by Donald W. Mitchell* 887
10 Years Ago in *The Nation* 888
Tensions in British Politics *by Reinhold Niebuhr* 889
In the Wind 890

POLITICAL WAR *edited by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Collapse of a Satellite *by F. C. Weiskopf* 891
Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus* 892
Papal Guidance 893

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Mr. Lippmann's Realism *by Albert Guérard* 894
Isak Dinesen *by Louise Bogan* 894
Concerning Cartels *by Rifat Tirana* 895
The Unconquered *by Marcus Duffield* 896
A Fighting European *by Rustem Vambery* 898
Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 899
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 901

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 902

CROSS-WORD PUZZLE NO. 19 *by Jack Barrett* 904

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor ROBERT BENDINER
Washington Editor I. F. STONE
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors
KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART

Music Critic B. H. HAGGIN
Drama Critic JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Board of Contributing Editors
NORMAN ANGELL • JONATHAN DANIELS • LOUIS FISCHER
REINHOLD NIEBUHR • J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Business Manager HUGO VAN ARX
Advertising Manager MARY HOWARD ELLISON

Published weekly and copyright, 1943, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 856 National Press Building.

The Shape of Things

ONCE AGAIN THE COAL FIELDS ARE IDLE, and once again the country faces the prospect of almost total disruption of war production should the dispute last more than a week or two. It would be hard to acquit the various government agencies which have sought to deal with the situation of all responsibility, but the chief blame rests squarely on the shoulders of John L. Lewis. From the beginning his attitude has been: "Meet my demands or else." By his refusal to recognize the jurisdiction of the War Labor Board, by his insistence on negotiating with the strike weapon in hand and thereby violating the pledge he had given in common with other labor leaders, by his openly expressed determination to smash the Little Steel order, he created a situation in which the government could only satisfy his demands by abdicating its authority. In their dissenting opinion on the "portal-to-portal" issue the labor members of the WLB accuse the majority of resorting to a "technical and narrow interpretation" of their powers under the President's directive. Nevertheless, the argument that the proposed flat-rate compensation for travel time would not remove the admitted inequalities of the face-to-face system is difficult to controvert. Nor can it be gainsaid that miners' pay on a six-day-week basis compares so favorably with that in many other industries that an increase under any formula would make it hard to refuse a general upward revision of wages.

*

UNDER LEWIS'S LEADERSHIP THE U. M. W. HAS been brought to a point where it is defying both public opinion and the government so flagrantly that the Administration is bound to use all means of breaking the strike. Even so, we still think that the War Labor Disputes Bill, which makes Lewis's intransigence an excuse for undermining the rights of all unions, should be vetoed. We realize, nevertheless, that it would require tremendous courage on the part of the President to refuse to sign. For a veto would leave him wide open to attack on the ground that he had met a threat to the national safety by thrusting aside a proffered weapon to withstand it. Whether the bill, if it becomes law—and the indications are that it will before this issue of *The Nation*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reaches its readers—will, in fact, prove effective in opening up the mines remains to be seen. Possibly the strike might be broken by seizure of the U. M. W.'s funds, but we expect Mr. Lewis would be able to muster enough legal talent to prevent this and to keep himself out of jail. A more hopeful procedure, we believe, would be for the government to take over the mines—not on paper, as it has already done, but by leasing them for the duration. The miners would then feel that they were working directly for the government and were no longer creating private profits. In such circumstances the President would be in a much better position to insist that they disregard the orders of John L. Lewis.

✶

AS A STATESMAN SIR ARCHIBALD WAVELL, who is to take office as Viceroy of India next October, is an unknown quantity, but at least he has no political record of the kind that would damn him from the outset. This is more than can be said for a number of the men who had been mentioned as possibles for the appointment. Wavell has been a soldier all his life, and many good authorities think he is among Britain's greatest. His campaign in Libya and his direction of the successful conquest of Ethiopia have been overshadowed by more recent events in Africa, but these operations will be remembered in history as brilliant examples of brick-making without straw. Although Wavell is the first military man ever to be appointed viceroy, the breaking of precedents can be justified by the fact that strategic insight is a necessity for the chief executive of a country so close to the war as is India. And his choice may be taken as a plain indication that the British government still thinks that victory comes first and Indian independence second. Certainly, Indian nationalists who believe that this order should be reversed declare that the appointment means no change in British policy. We hope that Wavell will prove this pessimism premature. The advent of a new viceroy is always an opportunity for an amnesty, and with Gandhi and Nehru out of jail it would become possible to reopen negotiations.

✶

ELMER DAVIS'S REMARKS ABOUT THE WAY Washington news is handled by reporters and their bosses may have precipitated the action of the House in abolishing the domestic activities of the Office of War Information; but the way in which that speech was used by Senator Styles Bridges and by Representatives Short and Starnes make it clear that anything Davis might have said would have been seized upon as a stick with which to beat the Administration. Bridges accused Davis of wanting to "silence the nation's press"; Short and Starnes brought up the name of Goebbels. (Arthur Krock meanwhile put in his two cents' worth of spleen by saying that Davis had become merely a yes-man for the Administration—Krock himself being chief no-man.) In the same off-with-their heads session, the House voted to prohibit continuance of the OPA's food-subsidy program; it also stipulated that all price-policy officials should have at least five years of actual business experience—no wonder the Chamber of Commerce raised its voice in fulsome praise next day. We hope the Senate will temper the rash actions of the House on these issues, though its own action directing the liquidation of the National Resources Planning Board is not encouraging. None of these extravagent performances are motivated, we may be sure, by a desire to save money or avert inflation or preserve a free press. The right is on a rampage. That being so, a more cautious man than Davis might have deferred his free speech—which a bureaucrat is entitled to—until after the vote on OWI appropriations. But we can't help admiring him for not refusing to cross Bridges.

✶

THE HOUSE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE took a notable step toward prevention of World War III when it unexpectedly adopted the Fulbright resolution pledging the support of Congress for "appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and maintain a just and lasting peace." While the Fulbright resolution lacks the clarity of the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill resolution now pending in the Senate, it embodies the essentials of post-war organization. Passage of the resolution by the House should have a most salutary effect abroad. For it makes clear that the United States has no intention of relapsing into the kind of pre-war isolationism that was marked by the Neutrality Act. The fact that staunch isolationists like Hamilton Fish and John M. Vorys approved the resolution indicates that much ground has been won. While we shall doubtless find many of these isolationists opposing all specific plans for post-war organization, their assent to the general principle of American participation in world affairs suggests that they are aware of the present temper of public opinion as expressed in the opinion polls. The situation in the Senate, where the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill resolution has been held up for months, is much less satisfactory. Possibly because Senators only come up for reelection once in six years, isolationism still appears to have considerable influence in the upper chamber. But there is at least a fighting chance that in an effort to keep the House from stealing the show, the Senate will feel compelled to go that body one better and adopt the Ball resolution.

✶

ALMOST A FULL YEAR HAS PASSED SINCE Donald M. Nelson promised to appoint two labor vice-chairmen to the War Production Board. The promise was made when Ferdinand Eberstadt and the Army-Navy Munitions Board were about to take over the WPB; the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

promise has finally been kept at a time when the Byrnes-Baruch-Eberstadt combination is again on the verge of engulfing the WPB. Clinton S. Golden, of the United Steel Workers, is to be vice-chairman for man-power liaison and at the same time vice-chairman of the War Manpower Commission in charge of labor relations. We know his great ability and applaud his selection. Joseph B. Keenan, former secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, is to be vice-chairman of the WPB in charge of the labor-production division. We note with amusement that Nelson unctuously makes much of the fact that they will go on government salary and break off their union connections; most of his business recruits are still drawing salary from the home office. More important than that, however, is the fact that we see no evidence that either Golden or Keenan will give labor a voice in production problems. Golden's duties are to be confined to man-power liaison, though he knows more about production problems than most business men. Keenan, who made a good record under Sidney Hillman in the OPM, is assigned to deal with problems of "worker productivity." Though some of the most fruitful ideas of the war program first came from labor, there is every indication that its representatives at the WPB are to be kept out of management's production counsels.

✳

Notice to "Nation" Readers

In order to overcome the increasing delays caused by war-time curtailment of transportation, *The Nation,* beginning with this issue, is advancing its press date by twenty-four hours. This should result in prompt delivery of *The Nation* to subscribers as well as to newsstand buyers.

Czar or Subsidies

OPPONENTS of the Administration have apparently decided to take advantage of bad weather and the exceptional food requirements of war time to make as much political capital as possible out of the food shortage. Their cry at the moment is for a "food czar" with full control over production, processing, distribution, and pricing of food. On the surface, the demand seems not unreasonable. Greater coordination and centralization of authority are usually necessary in war time. Mr. Davis's powers, though great, are by no means absolute. He does not have the authority, for example, to allow farm prices to skyrocket, even though it may be argued that a sharp increase in agricultural prices would certainly bring increased production. He does not have the power to reduce army or lend-lease allotments, although such a reduction would certainly mean more food for civilians. He cannot compel men to work on farms if they prefer the high wages of the war plants. The advocates of a "food czar" probably have no desire to upset our man-power or lend-lease arrangements. Their one interest is in getting higher prices for farm products, and their demand for an over-all food authority is largely a cloak for a drive against the existing price controls. The larger interests of a balanced war-production program have been wholly overlooked.

The farm bloc particularly has been angered by the proposed rollbacks in food prices, and it has taken advantage of the squeeze caused by the rollback to parade alleged instances in which farmers are not meeting the costs of production. That the opposition to the rollback is political rather than economic is made clear by the farm bloc's antagonism to a system of subsidies which would guarantee the farmer full costs of production plus a reasonable profit. Fortunately, the opponents of the subsidies have not been able to think up an effective argument against them. Protests that the subsidies would be "inflationary" carry little conviction from a group that only a few weeks ago was urging passage of the Pace bill to include farm labor costs in parity prices. The truth is that subsidies offer the one method by which the existing inflationary spiral can be controlled while Congress procrastinates in its task of increasing taxes sufficiently to mop up excess buying power. As the President pointed out at his press conference last week, it is possible to correct an inequity through the payment of a subsidy without giving new impetus to the inflationary spiral. A boost in farm prices, on the other hand, would be immediately reflected in an increase in the cost of living, thus creating a demand for higher wages and salaries and raising the prices of the things the farmer must buy. Subsidies also have the advantage of flexibility. They can be used to stimulate the production of nutritious foods, such as soy beans and peanuts, which might otherwise be neglected. Properly administered, subsidies also may be used as a weapon to combat the black market. The OPA can make certain that no subsidies are paid to anyone who has in any way aided black market operations.

In view of Britain's success with food subsidies in combating inflation the President and Price Administrator Prentiss Brown are to be commended for sticking to their guns. As a result of their tenacity it begins to look for the first time in months as if the OPA had the price situation reasonably well in hand. But it must be recognized that they are going to have a tough job holding their position for, while repelling a frontal attack from Capitol Hill, they also have to deal with sniping from the rear. Encouraged by the demand for a "food czar," Mr. Chester Davis has presented an ultimatum demanding full power over price and rationing policies for his War Food Administration. He also insists that he must deal directly with the President instead of with the Office of Economic Stabilization as at present.

The grant of such sweeping powers to Mr. Davis would be popular with the farmers—or at least with the farm

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lobby—but we have grave doubts whether it would be in the interests of the consumers. True, he has let it be known that he is not wholly opposed to subsidies, but he seems to accept the Farm Bureau's view that prices must go up. Yet it is in the food price sector that the anti-inflationary front is already cracking, and if this gives way the line cannot be held.

British Labor Marks Time

THE end of its most controversial conference since the war started sees the British Labor Party signaling "no change." By a large majority it voted for continuance of the party truce in the interests of national unity; by a rather smaller one it rejected the view that either national or working-class unity would be promoted by accepting the affiliation of the Communist Party. These were the two major issues debated, and the conclusions reached were in accordance with informed forecasts. A more open and exciting contest was that between Arthur Greenwood and Herbert Morrison for the treasurership of the party. Greenwood won by a substantial but not overwhelming majority.

Some American commentators have interpreted this duel as one between right and left, with the victory going to the left. Actually both men can be described as right center, and there are no very serious differences between them either on long-range policy or short-range tactics. Both believe in the gradual approach to socialism; both favor the continuance of the party truce and the exclusion of the Communists. On the other hand, the rivalry between them is not purely personal, although personal factors do enter. Rather it represents a structural fissure in the party which is scarcely visible when Labor is in opposition but is likely to gape widely when Labor again takes office.

The British Labor Party is really a federation in which the two chief components are the national trade unions and the local labor parties. The trade-union element is both the strength and the weakness of the organization. It supplies the mass backing and much of the financial support, but the individual members of the local parties do most of the practical work. Thanks to the voting weight they exercise and their monetary resources, the trade unions in a great many of the most promising constituencies have the last word on Parliamentary nominees, and all too often they use this as a means of pensioning off elderly officials. The result has been to raise the average age and lower the mental caliber of the Parliamentary Labor Party. More important than this, however, is the fact that trade unions, as professional bodies, tend inevitably to put their special group interests first. During the war, it is true, they have consciously resisted this temptation and have made victory their foremost object. But in times of peace a measure which infringes on some vested trade-union interest may be strenuously fought even though it is in accord with the Labor Party program.

Arthur Greenwood, although not a union official, has always been close to the big trade unions. Morrison, on the other hand, owes his place in the party to the way in which he built it up in the London area, where owing to the multiplicity of trades no one union predominates. Of the two, he is perhaps the more aware of the fact that if ever labor is to win full power it must broaden its base and become less of a "class" party in the old sense. In a series of remarkable speeches he has made during the past few months, the keynote of which has been the paramountcy of the consumer in the promotion of economic welfare, he has attacked the evils of sectionalism, monopoly, and restriction in a manner which may well have irked some of his trade-union colleagues. "Labor," he said in one of these addresses, "must be more in practice than a party of social services and wage standards. . . . The one general principle that has some meaning and can be defended is that the interest of the community, and not the interest of this or that group in industry or elsewhere, must decide.

There is great danger that after the war Churchill's prestige will sweep the Conservatives back into power on a victory flood tide and that, as Reinhold Niebuhr suggests elsewhere in this issue, the war-time promises of social and economic reform will be forgotten. This is why some of the most vigorous members of the Labor Party have urged that the political truce should be ended now. Lack of activity and the necessity of maintaining the status quo by not fighting by-elections is, they contend, sapping the party's energy and organization. And, after the war, they fear, Churchill will be in a position to force them into a continued coalition on take-it-or-leave-it terms. These factors cannot be lightly dismissed but the political truce cannot be broken without breaking up the national government—a step which would almost certainly prove a costly blunder. It would force Churchill to seek a new mandate at a general election with the Conservatives appearing as the embodiment of the national will to victory and Labor as pursuers of sectional ends.

Labor will not win power by such tactics but rather by making itself a vehicle for the widespread though not fully articulated demand in Britain for a new social order. Herbert Morrison, we believe, has grasped that truth and alone among the leaders of British Labor he is hammering out a far-sighted policy. That is why we regret his defeat by Greenwood who, despite his ability and charm, no longer seems to possess the dynamics of leadership. Marking time in the electoral field is one thing but British Labor cannot afford to stick in the mental rut into which it fell after the downfall of the Labor government in 1931.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Expediency in Argentina

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE action of the State Department in recognizing the military government in Argentina was a dubious move from every point of view. It was not, one must admit, without precedent. Although our government has sometimes withheld recognition from regimes which came to power through unconstitutional means, it has sometimes, as recently in the case of Panama, established relations with them promptly and without asking embarrassing questions. In other words, we have kept the principle of constitutionality on ice to be used when convenient—turning principle itself into an instrument of expediency.

So there's no use scolding the Administration for forgetting, in the case of Argentina, its theoretical disapproval of governments born of rebellion. The problem is a different one. The problem is to decide whether, since expediency is to be our guide whichever course we follow, the quick recognition of the Ramirez dictatorship was a wise move. *The Nation* believed, and said at the time of the coup, that the State Department would do well to insist upon a constitutional regime which could be counted upon to adopt an honest, anti-Axis foreign policy. We pointed out that the reactionary character of the new government offered little reason to expect that Argentina would become a full, dues-paying member of the anti-Axis coalition.

Now, too late, Washington is beginning to discover facts that were evident from the moment the Ramirez junta took power. Not only has Ramirez given no sign of anti-Axis sentiment, but suspicion is gaining ground that the coup was actually engineered by a pro-Nazi military group which believed that Patron Costas, Castillo's hand-picked successor, might, when elected, favor closer relations with the United States. Whether this turns out to be the case or not, it is obvious that the new regime is playing a cagy game, proclaiming solidarity with the other Americas while announcing as its international policy a new variety of "true" neutrality.

Argentina's military men and other nationalist elements have watched with alarm and natural resentment the rearming of its neighbors, particularly Brazil, with American lend-lease material. If the new government can get a share of this valuable booty and at the same time maintain its happy intimacy with the Axis powers, the hopes of the reactionaries will be wholly realized. Every gesture so far made must be taken as a hopeful bid for material aid from the United States. But in this gamble the Ramirez regime stands to lose. Recognition is one thing; guns and planes and tanks are more precious commodities, and our government is not likely to hand them out for anything less than a break with the Axis.

Since this is so, one cannot exclude the possibility that a break may come. If its present tactics should prove unsuccessful, Argentina, also applying the test of expediency, might decide that a share of lend-lease material was worth the formal severing of relations with Germany and Italy. It is even conceivable that Hitler might connive in such a move, believing that a well-armed, powerful pro-Axis state in South America could be of greater help, even in the absence of formal relations, than a state ostracized by the rest of the hemisphere and deprived of access to the great arsenal to the north.

This is speculation; but it is worth indulging in if only that we may prepare ourselves mentally for a situation which would hold almost as many chances of trouble for the United States and the Allied cause as the present one. If Argentina should break off relations with the Axis, the activities of German and Italian diplomatic agents would be taken over, as in other Latin American countries, by the Phalanx and Franco's embassies and consulates. Spain's fascist government has maintained particularly close ties with Argentina, with which it recently signed a new trade pact; the two reactionary regimes share an open sympathy for the Axis, a hatred of democracy, a partiality for political clericalism; and the agents of the Phalanx are solidly established in Argentina's social and business life. Nothing known about the new regime suggests that this situation will change.

Meanwhile, a reactionary gang of generals and admirals is busy clamping its control over the whole of Argentina. Not only has Congress been abrogated; the elected governments of the states are being forcibly thrown out and supplanted by governors appointed by Ramirez—in one case by a known and active pro-Nazi. The government has also called off the Presidential election scheduled for September, and has made the meaning of this action doubly clear by announcing that the word "provisional" no longer applies to a regime which has been approved by the Supreme Court and recognized by foreign countries. The last vestiges of constitutional rule, with which even Castillo dared not tamper, are being wiped out. Washington's misguided haste in giving diplomatic sanction to the new regime must have greatly enhanced its prestige, both at home and among the other Latin American republics. On the other hand, a delay in recognizing Ramirez, for which we could have found even nobler precedents than for recognition, would have created doubt everywhere, encouraged honest democrats and pro-Ally elements in Argentina to force a change of policy or another change of government, and announced to the world our interest in acts rather than words.

It took us sixteen years to decide to recognize the Soviet government, which had been established by a people's revolution; we might profitably have waited sixteen days to recognize the reactionary government of Argentina, set up by a military coup.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How Weiner Was Tractored Out

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 18

I HAVE before me a pamphlet published by one of the termite outfits still covertly operating despite the war. The pamphlet is called "Famine in America—Home Grown by the Farmers from Union Square." It works back from the farm-machinery question through the League for Industrial Democracy to a long list of Jewish names and the usual paranoid hints at a world-wide conspiracy. I open it to a speech by Shafer of Michigan shrewdly appealing to interests threatened by the war effort. "If the free press of America," Shafer said, "is in danger—and it is—it is Weiner who is to blame. It is Weiner who advocated an 80 per cent slash in newsprint. . . . If prohibition creeps into America through the back door—with all the attendant evils of gangs, murder, and poison liquor—Weiner is to blame, with his program for a 99 per cent slash in distilled liquor. . . . It was Weiner, Russian-born Wall Street lawyer, who slashed farm-production machinery 70 per cent without rhyme, reason, or authority."

This speech is only one of the more extreme examples of the attacks made in Congress upon Joseph Weiner, who, as I explained last week, has just been elbowed out of the War Production Board by Donald M. Nelson after two years as head of civilian supply in the successive alphabet war agencies. Perhaps Weiner was not "broad-gauged" enough—to borrow Nelson's phrase—to understand that it was as important to keep in the good graces of the distillers as to provide alcohol for smokeless powder and synthetic rubber. The distillers, however, are now turning out industrial alcohol for war, whether they like it or not. The farm-equipment manufacturers, allied as they were with the farm bloc, proved more powerful. They objected, as did every other civilian industry, to having their production cut after Pearl Harbor. The Big Seven in the industry protested against the concentration order which handed over curtailed production schedules to the smaller companies and cleared the decks of the big ones for war work.

"There was, of course, tremendous pressure from the armed services to get everything they wanted," Senator Truman of Missouri said to Weiner at the Truman committee hearings on farm equipment last January. ". . . I am morally certain that there was not any pressure group down there pounding you on every side to get this farm machinery for the farmer." This is one of the few cases in which Senator Truman's moral certainties do not survive empiric test. The big farm-equipment companies and the farm bloc have succeeded in recent months in deceiving the Truman committee, getting authority over farm equipment shifted from the WPB to the Department of Agriculture, and obtaining constant upward revision in their steel allocations. On June 9 Nelson announced that in the year beginning July 1 the farm-equipment companies would be allowed to produce 80 per cent of the 1940 level, and gave them a preliminary allocation of 900,000 tons of steel. He also announced that concentration of production would be abandoned.

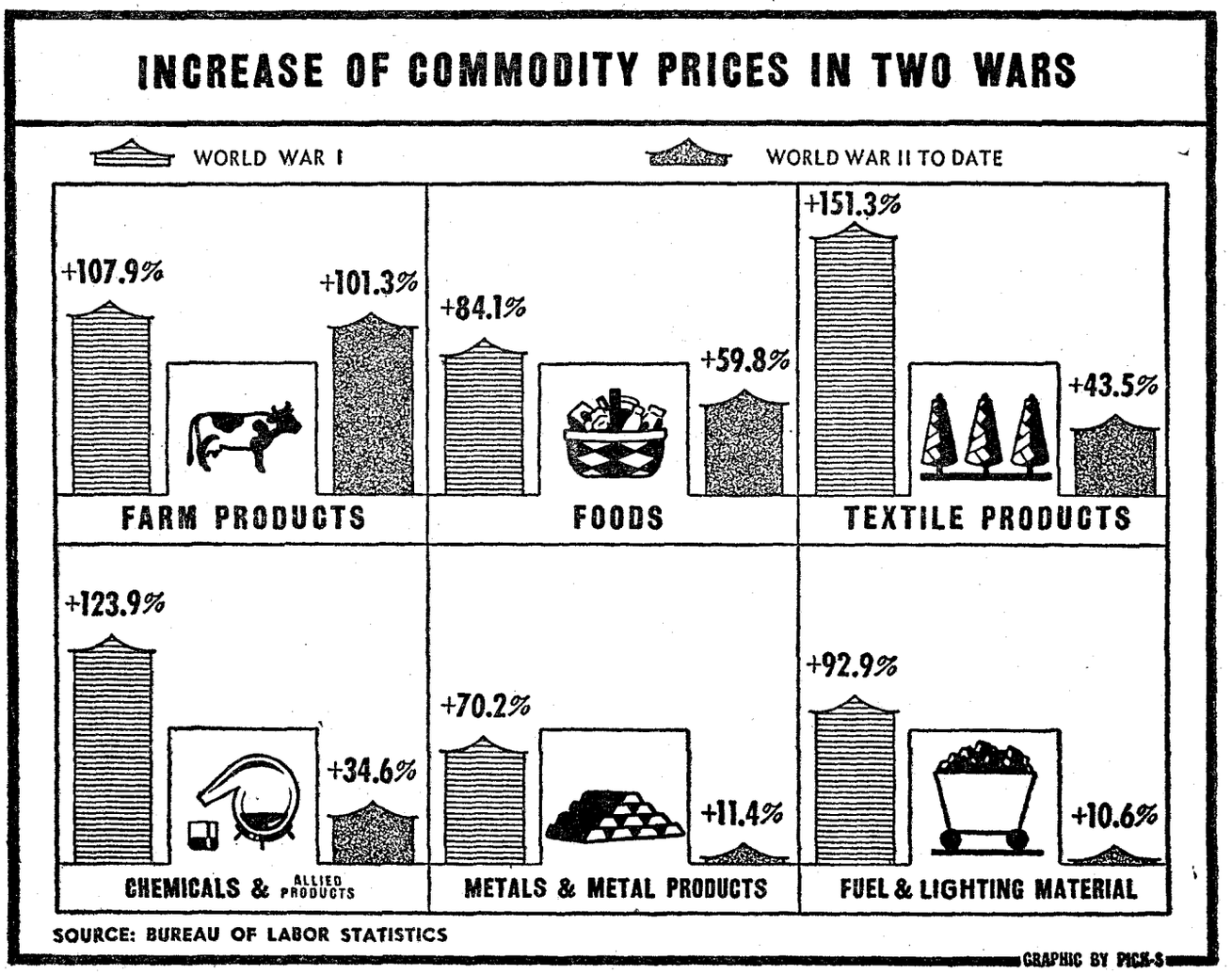
Here are the facts of the farm-equipment story. The years 1937, 1940, 1941, and 1942—despite Pearl Harbor—were the four years of highest farm-machinery sales since the First World War. Farmers entered 1943 with the greatest aggregate quantity of machinery in history. A curtailment program went into effect on November 1, 1942. In July of that year, after considerable prodding, the farm-equipment branch of the WPB, a branch dominated—typically—by the big manufacturers, had recommended that in the twelve months beginning November 1 production be permitted at 50 per cent of the 1940 level. Their opposite numbers in the Department of Agriculture agreed, but Secretary Wickard, as chairman of the Food Requirements Committee, cut this to 38 per cent. The Civilian Supply Branch of the WPB recommended 27.6 per cent for the reason, among others, that liberal appeals methods generally permit production 20 to 25 per cent in excess of quotas. The Army-Navy Munitions Board, through Ferdinand Eberstadt, its chairman at the time, urged a deeper cut because of the urgent need for raw materials. As a result, Weiner was instructed to cut farther. His final recommendation of 23 per cent was approved by the all-powerful Requirements Committee, on which the armed services are represented, but in September that body cut the farm-equipment program again, allocating to it only 120,000 tons of steel instead of the 176,000 tons called for by the 23 per cent program. Weiner at this point appealed and got the original allocation restored. Output of repair parts was permitted at 145 per cent of the 1940 level. It was felt that with this generous allowance for repair parts and the large stock of machinery on hand, we should have ample equipment with which to meet food goals.

In the summer of 1942, while the industry was still going full blast on civilian work, it had a huge backlog of unfilled war orders, most of them on the books of the large companies. Only the Big Seven can make trac-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tors and combines, but the Labor Production Division of the WPB and Weiner's Office of Civilian Supply proposed in July that production of other farm machinery be concentrated in the smaller plants. In August both Lieutenant General Somervell, chief of the Services of Supply, and Under Secretary of War Patterson urged Nelson to put Weiner's concentration program into effect as quickly as possible. So did the War Manpower Commission. The industry balked, and the WPB balked with it, but a modified program was finally adopted in October. Ever since, there has been retreat, one concession following another. "Farm equipment," the *Wall Street Journal* says today, "is being fixed by politics." And by big business.

In the retreat Weiner was left to become the goat of industry and the farm bloc. The Shafer type of attack upon him began in Congress in December. When the Truman committee looked into the situation, with malice aforethought, in January, it did not summon Patterson, Somervell, Eberstadt, or Nelson. Eberstadt let the committee know privately that he would increase the allotment for farm machinery before the hearings, and Nelson announced an increased allocation the day after the Truman report was rushed into print. The committee, which praised Weiner last June for "advocating an all-out effort," was shamefully unfair to him in its farm-machinery report in January. Previously suspicious of dollar-a-year men, it criticized Weiner for not heeding the advice of the personnel of the Farm Machinery and Equipment Branch, "drawn in large part from the industry, having a wealth of experience gathered over a long period of time in planning an industry program under conditions free from governmental restriction"—a new note in Truman reports. No one would have gathered from that report that the farm-machinery branch of Weiner's Civilian Supply Division was headed and staffed by farm-born and -bred agricultural experts. While Weiner was being attacked in Congress as a "Russian-born Wall Street lawyer," no one pointed out that William Russell, who drew up the farm-equipment report for the Truman committee, was formerly with Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine, and Wood, Wall Street's most famous firm of corporation lawyers. Weiner has been tractored out by the Big Seven, and the price will be paid in battle. Though the armed forces are still short of steel, International Harvester and its allies will probably get 1,000,000 tons in the next twelve months. *Ce n'est pas la guerre.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Strategy for Negroes

BY JAMES BOYD

[*Convinced that Negro-white relations cannot be substantially improved solely by protesting against individual cases of discrimination, we have undertaken to give our readers a consideration of the deeper problems involved. To get at the roots of the matter it is not enough merely to present the views for which* The Nation *has always stood, to reiterate, that is, our traditional advocacy of racial equality. Neither is anything to be gained by publishing the well-known views of professional Southern hate-mongers. Our purpose in printing the following article, with which we sharply disagree at many points, is to demonstrate the magnitude of the problem by presenting it through the eyes of an enlightened and sympathetic Southerner. Whatever we and the majority of our readers may feel about the urgency of effecting complete racial equality, it is vital to know the gap that must be bridged between our position and that of even the most advanced Southern liberals. Mr. Boyd's article is to be followed in our next issue by the views of a liberal Negro writer who finds the Boyd approach no longer convincing.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

RECENTLY A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was quoted by *PM* as having said that the Ku Klux Klan was behind John Temple Graves of the Birmingham *Age-Herald* and Virginius Dabney of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*. Asked by the present writer to comment on this report, Mr. Randolph declared that he had said rather that the two expressed the spirit of the Klan. This distinction is minor. Two outstanding Southern liberals have been classed with the Klan by one of the most prominent Negroes in America. It is not a unique incident: there have recently been numerous Negro attacks on liberals, North and South.

So general, in fact, on the part of Negroes is this new attitude toward both white and Negro liberalism that it carries the mark of deliberate strategy. If it is strategy, then it should be based on what is called in military parlance an "estimate of the situation." No strategy is likely to be effective that does not first weigh the elements for and against its success. But so far as is known, this estimate has not been made by the Negroes who are practicing the strategy. Before discussing the prospects of their campaign then, it will be worth while to make that estimate, taking into account the basic factors which affect the Negro's position in American society.

Most rudimentary of those factors is man's primitive antagonism to the strange. The alien cast up on the beach is killed because his color, speech, smell are different. The impulse is rooted in nature's urge to eliminate the atypical from her breeding program and must therefore be reckoned with in all contacts between physically different races, however tragically misapplied. When instead of the solitary castaway great numbers of aliens are involved, this primitive instinct against the strange is powerfully reinforced by a group instinct to defend the cultural heritage. Probably the strongest motive behind this attitude is the determination of a race to keep its children like itself. It is characteristic of all races to be uneasy lest the succeeding generation fall away from the parents' precious standards. A threat to change children from replicas of ourselves into beings of a different kind stirs us to fierce resistance. This is true even though the alien host was deliberately imported, as were both the Negroes in the South and the Orientals on the West Coast.

Lastly, wherever there is a history of violence and outrage between physically different races, it is obvious that the prejudices will be intensified on both sides. The victim seeks his vicarious revenge, and the perpetrator seeks reasons to explain and justify his crimes.

And, of course, when a difference in economic levels makes one group a supposed threat to the other's standard of living, all prejudices are exacerbated. In the case of the Negro the threat has been met by wage and job discrimination. This keeps large sections of the Negro population poor, ignorant, and lacking in ambition. These attributes are then cited as reasons for discrimination. The answer is obviously that if the Negro is actually inferior, discrimination is superfluous: he will not be able to compete.

All the factors so far mentioned affect the relations of races in general and of the many racial groups within this country. But in the case of the Negro, added to all these considerations is another circumstance, apparently unique in history, that utterly overshadows them. The Negro is an ex-slave who carries the mark of his former status in his pigmentation. It is the status rather than the color which is the key to his present position. An Apache, for example, is as dark as the average Negro, but a white American would feel no chagrin at finding an Apache in his ancestry. For the Indian was not a slave.

That this susceptibility to enslavement is a permanent characteristic, that the stigma is "real" or deserved, is contrary to the teachings of history, philosophy, religion, and ethnology. Races and cultures rise and fall more slowly than individual families but in the same fashion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Certainly, to discuss the issue on its lowest plane, many of the bound-boys, indentured servants, and transported felons who arrived in this country were as much "slaves" as the Negro. Certainly, too, the development of both races in this country shows that talent and ability are latent in slaves of any color. It may well be that a white man's emigrant ancestors were substantially slaves, economic or penal. But it is the white man's good fortune that the fact cannot be determined by his appearance.

We have, then, a racial group that while by no means "foreign" is nevertheless not generally accepted either as a social or an economic equal. Many of this race "pass" as whites, but unless a Negro's color is light enough to permit this he remains under the shadow of his heritage. Nothing could be more natural, more creditable to the Negro's spirit, than the determination to escape this shadow, to better himself, to obtain an opportunity equal to that of other men. It is impossible to think of any reason whatever against this honorable desire. Certainly, therefore, the Negro is justified in having some plan of action, some notion of what he is after and of what is the best way to go about getting it.

GRADUALISM OR EXPLOSION?

Roughly two lines of strategy are open to Negro leaders. But they cannot, as they seem to be trying to do now, follow both lines simultaneously. They must choose and choose soon. Their choice would logically be determined by their theory of history. If they are of the gradualist school, the procedure would be to exact, by a combination of persuasion and pressure, as much as the white man in the present state of the two races is willing to concede. That is the method by which peoples and classes, under the slowly developing democratic system, have in the past won a measure of justice. It is a method which never achieves perfect justice and indeed does not present, even theoretically, any perfect state toward which the democrat can strive. Since there is no compelling end, there is nothing to justify the means. The means must justify themselves; they must, however compromised and inadequate, at least represent amelioration of present ills by methods generally agreed on and protected by law. Under democracy there are some things which cannot legally be done to a Negro or any other man. Under a total government, where any policy may be promoted and defended as being in the interest of a promised Utopia, there is nothing which cannot be done. The Negro has under democracy a certain minimum protection, pitiable though it may be, and historically these minimum rights of oppressed classes in a democracy do tend to expand toward equality.

That this protection, however limited, is not, within its frame, negligible may be illustrated by the fact that Negro Communists who obstructed our war effort before Germany's attack on Russia are alive and active today, whereas similar activity in their spiritual fatherland or any other total state would long ago have brought their liquidation. In the same way the Communist theater in London continued to give plays strongly and no doubt justly critical of the government during the German air raids. The British government has never attempted to achieve, or even had any picture of, a perfect state. But by compromise, concession, belated adaptation, and above all by honorable adherence to such few legal principles as it did admit, it has managed to exist without internal violence since the time of Cromwell. Therefore it was not disturbed by the Marxist theater, nor, with its principles, would it have been easy for it to act if it had been.

So much for democracy and its limitations and its gradualisms. The other theory of history is, of course, the explosive: it holds that all progress, so-called, is produced by fracturing a social mold—or at least by attempts to fracture it. In the case of the American Negro it would have to be the second method. He has not the military strength to challenge the white man. And it is doubtful whether he can get much help. No honest American can be happy about the Negro's present lot or anything but contemptuous of the whites who would worsen or even stabilize it. But though Americans fought once to free the Negro from slavery, they will hardly fight again over the precise status of a race which in the seventy years since it was freed has shown an advance unparalleled in cultural history and which now occupies positions of esteem in the arts and in some branches of learning, of rank in the army, and of influence in Congress. In this picture, it is true, there are plenty of gaps and inadequacies to move a well-disposed white man to indignation and to further effort, but they are not sufficient, taken in their historical setting, to move him to a crusade. Except for problematical Communist support, the Negro would fight alone.

Even Communist support cannot be greatly relied on. Communism is prevalent among the Negro intelligentsia, and its characteristic tactics of provocation and disruption, pursued long after they have ceased to be of service to Russia, may be seen in occasional manufactured incidents and in the Negro's studied attitude of hostility to all whites in some localities. But numerically it is weak, and its leadership has neither the quality nor the native air required to move Americans.

Above all, Soviet Russia, following the course indicated by the dissolution of the Comintern, is almost sure to become more nationalistic, particularly if victorious. In that case it will abandon its local efforts here for the sake of the more strictly national advantages which presumably we shall be able to offer after the war. But even if it were intent on creating for itself a favorable condition of chaos here, it probably would discover that the Negro, for several reasons, was not a suitable agent for the purpose.

The Negro, then, would have to fight alone, and the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

most the explosivist could hope for would be race warfare that could not succeed but that, when it burnt itself out, would so move the whites to shame by its record of brutality that the Negro's lot would be ameliorated.

Those who determine the Negro's strategy at this point in our history will have to make the choice. They cannot benefit from both explosion and adaptation. The temptation to produce an explosion is immense. It is easy; the luxury of passion is a grateful one; morally there is justification—the Negro's wrongs are bitter—intellectually there is every reason for claiming the abolition of all distinction. But the real question is whether an explosion will retard or accelerate the Negro's progress. We can try to guess the answer by examining the Civil War, the only departure from gradualism in our internal affairs. The Negro's advance since then has been remarkable, but if we look at the history of the Negro in other countries where slavery was abolished, the long-run advantage of the Civil War seems more dubious. Far from being irrepressible, the conflict now seems to have been synthetically manufactured over an issue that was in danger of being solved peacefully, as it was solved in the British Empire, by economics and the moral sense of mankind.

As it was, to give the ex-slave the vote overnight and at the same time disfranchise the white, while defensible on the grounds of abstract justice or of punishment for rebellion, did in practice so far exceed the cultural limits of both races then that reaction was inevitable. Its paralyzing effect on Southern political intelligence is only too well known. There is less recognition of how profoundly the experience undermined the Negro's confidence in the white man's method of government and also in his own capacity. With no preparation he was raised to some of the highest offices in the state. Almost as swiftly he was deposed and disfranchised. What had been done without forethought was undone by violence at the polls. Inevitably such a sequence poisoned the whole atmosphere of transition.

Nor did the evil consequences of this violent rupture cease with those directly affected. It has been a further misfortune to the nation that a feeling of remorse for its part in Reconstruction has moved the North to condone Southern intransigence and even to regard it with a certain affectionate amusement. No one can demonstrate that a different approach to the problem would have had happier results, but certainly no other method could have been worse.

The Civil War, then, so far as its main issue was concerned, could show for its masses of dead men, of griefs and hatreds, only the bare abolition of chattel servitude. Beyond question, if there was no other solution, the war had to be fought and the curse and shame destroyed. But if a peaceful solution had been worked out, as was done everywhere else, Negro and white man would both be farther advanced in brotherhood today.

By the same token, if violence can advance his cause now, the Negro is justified in not stopping short of it, and, of course, he is justified in denouncing those who counsel moderation. But he should be sure of his strategy and realistic about where his present technique is leading him. As matters are developing, the attitude of some leaders and of most Negro newspapers, intentionally or not, is tending to produce a race war. If this attitude is intentional and if it is adopted by the Negro people, it will have to be justified by the results. If it is not intentional and the war occurs as a sort of mass accident, the tragedy will be absolute.

WASTED ASSETS

Meanwhile, the possible advantages of a campaign of gradualism are being frittered away. There is no space to give details. But a characteristic example may be found in a recent story by Richard Wright in *Harper's Magazine*. Wright tells how the experimental animals in a laboratory were accidentally let out of their cages by the Negro attendants, who then to avoid detection put them back indiscriminately. According to the author, the change was never noted by the scientists. The story is marked by infantile glee at the triumph over white stupidity. Such glee is characteristic of an oppressed people's attitude toward its oppressors, but in a racial leader one would expect some recognition that faithfulness to his trust is an asset in the Negro's struggle. If the Negro can be persuaded by his leaders that deceit and unfaithfulness are commendable, his economic value is reduced and so is his power to improve his status.

The oppressed are always tempted to make an idol and scapegoat of their wrongs. But the imposing rise of the American Negro has been effected by those members of the race, great and humble, who resisted that enticing by-path. It is precisely because they did not resent their wrongs as much as they might justly have done that they have made the Negro a symbol of beauty and dignity among us.

This is no place to sentimentalize over the Negro's virtues. And of all substitutes for justice, sentimentality is the most offensive. But since some of those virtues, at least, are of strategic value, it is permissible for the Negro to count them in planning his campaign. His good manners are notable and have saved large areas of this country from savagery. A magistrate of long experience recently remarked, for instance, that Negroes were the only gentlemen in New York. The Negro's skill with children, with the sick, and with animals is a by-word among us. His religious feeling has brought a sense of mystery, love, and reverence to Americans.

If a campaign of gradualism is decided on as the most promising, these recognized assets should not be wasted in a crusade for social acceptance; efforts should be concentrated on the economic front. Here the enemy is weakest; here the Negro's friends are most numerous. Not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many Americans deny that a Negro ought by rights to have a job and pay suited to his skill. With economic betterment, social amelioration is bound to follow; but if the Negro reverses the process and attacks on the social front, he is likely to alienate many who would normally stand with him in his economic campaign.

Above all, let him remember how slowly history moves and that all must accept responsibility for their part in it. He is freer now, but still not so free as the white man. How fast and how far he travels toward equal freedom will be determined not by his demands but by his brains and character.

Meanwhile, he needs proved friends and friends of practical experience. Can he afford to discard those white Southerners who, not in the comfortable isolation enjoyed by more distant idealists but in daily contact with the problem, have devoted themselves to attacking the Negro's natural enemies?

Decline of the Sea Wolves

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE Battle of the Atlantic seems to be at last turning in our favor; the U-boat is less of a threat at the moment than at any other time since the fall of France. A few figures will show the gains of recent months. In March American shipyards alone completed 1,510,000 tons of new ships. In the same month the Germans claimed the destruction of 851,000 tons. For April the comparable figures were 1,600,000 and 415,000 tons. In May, when American yards finished a stupendous total of 1,780,000 tons of new shipping, German claims went down to 372,000 tons. Actual sinkings may have been still less, for the Nazis, never modest about the feats of their submarines, included an inexplicable 90,000 tons at the end of the month. Thus in the last three months the United States alone has added at least 659,000, 1,185,000, and 1,408,000 tons to the stockpile of United Nations shipping. And in the same period the reopening of the Mediterranean has contributed another huge increment. These gains are an accentuation of an earlier trend, for 488,000 and 664,000 tons were added in January and February.

Another gauge of progress is the destruction of submarines. For only two recent months, March and May, do we have any figures for this. British estimates for these months are seventeen and thirty, and thus in May the losses probably exceeded the estimated building rate of twenty. While this is good news, we must remember that the enemy has from 300 to 500 U-boats, of which from 100 to 150 are in operation at one time. Far more serious for the Germans is the loss of skilled commanders and well-trained crews. The recent practice of placing one skilled commander in charge of an entire "wolf pack" has made good leadership more effective than in the earlier days of the war, but men like Prien are still the first to be killed.

Such figures as these are in no sense absolute. For instance, we have no statistics on time losses for damaged ships; and, on the other side, the very considerable ship output of the British Isles and Canada is not included. But it is noteworthy that the sharpest reduction in sinkings occurred during the best hunting months of the year. All these things are reliable indications, though not a complete guide, to the situation in the Atlantic. Average losses of 550,000 tons a month are bound to delay the day of victory, but unless Germany can increase them enormously it is certain to be defeated in the end.

The most encouraging aspect of this improvement is that it has been brought about by something more substantial than a periodic subsidence of submarine warfare. Earlier anti-submarine efforts were often poorly organized and directed. There were certain "blind" areas; various agencies duplicated each other's work; a common command was lacking. After the Casablanca conference the Allies worked out a scheme whereby the British and Canadian navies assumed reponsibility for guarding the convoy lanes to Europe in the middle and eastern Atlantic, while the United States provided protection in the western and southern Atlantic.

Much of the progress made is due to the larger quantities and far better quality of anti-submarine weapons. Our navy, like the British, long neglected the unspectacular drudgery of improving on the technical means of combating the U-boat. The outbreak of war found us trying to beat the 1941 German U-boat with the weapons of 1918. And we did not even have enough of those. Of course the full story of the development of new secret weapons and the multiplication of old ones will not be told before the end of the war. However, we know that several new types of patrol vessels, including the destroyer escorts now being produced in mass, are becoming available. Radars and improved hydrophones are in use, and the escort plane carrier has proved its value. Recently, after a severe internal struggle, the navy adopted helicopters, which have the advantage of being able to operate from a limited deck space. The peak in our production of anti-submarine weapons will not be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reached until 1944, but the present turnout is impressive. In fact, as is the case with all weapons, the defense seems to be rapidly catching up with the offense.

Finally, the persistent pecking away at U-boat bases and production centers is apparently at last having some effect. Submarines in port can be almost perfectly safeguarded by bombproof shelters, but these "garages" cost too much in time and labor to be constructed everywhere. Nor can the many factories making engines and other parts be adequately protected against the precision bombing of our Fortresses and Liberators.

The main instruments, then, of our present limited success have been an increased output of new and old weapons and aerial bombing. Inasmuch as the peak of both is still approaching, our outlook for achieving control of submarines is relatively bright. We are sure to have individual bad months, and the U-boat will remain a danger as long as the war lasts, but we have already survived the worst period. One of the teachings of Mahan has again been vindicated: the *guerre de course*, or war against commerce, causes grave difficulties, but alone it does not win wars.

The value of the U-boat has been emphatically proved by the very troubles it has created for the United Nations. Shortage of merchant tonnage prevented our launching a land attack for nearly a year after Pearl Harbor. All through 1942, while the war at times hung in the balance, we were unable to intervene effectively. And today, even though we appear to have gained the upper hand at sea, our difficulties in concentrating the men and supplies needed for an effective invasion of Europe may give Hitler one more chance to win the war in Russia.

In the Pacific the war of attrition is being waged under fundamentally different conditions. Here Japanese submarines, crippled by the distance of their bases, have made very little effort to interfere with our seaborne transport of men and supplies. We, on the other hand, are definitely on the offensive, and in eighteen months of war have destroyed more than 200 enemy merchant ships, or nearly 100,000 tons a month. Our submarines are less numerous than those of the Germans, operate from more distant bases, and have far fewer targets. In view of these facts their success has been nothing short of astonishing. Very few have been lost, and the toll of enemy shipping, while small compared to our losses in the Atlantic, represents an even greater proportion of the Japanese merchant marine. Its replacement will also impose a far greater strain on national resources.

While the outlook here is relatively encouraging, Americans have always had a tendency to take too much for granted with respect to Japan—a habit of mind which not even our defeats at Japanese hands have eliminated. The conclusion is being drawn in some quarters, for example, that because our sinkings of enemy merchant ships exceed the *pre-war* output of Japanese yards we are therefore winning the war of attrition, and Japan's far-flung island empire will ultimately fall from inability to keep open its lines of communication. Such a conclusion is not warranted by the facts. It is quite likely that Japan has not made the phenomenal increase in shipbuilding of the United States, but it is ridiculous to judge its present output by pre-war standards. The Japanese are being hurt by the kills of our submarines, but they are certainly not being defeated. In short, we must not mistake our gains in either the Atlantic or the Pacific for decisive victories.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

ANOTHER NATION to throw sand in the gears of the creaky international machinery is Japan. A very definite check to progress at Geneva has resulted from Mr. Sato's announcement that Japan would demand naval equality with Great Britain and the United States in 1935 . . . to maintain control over vast territory on the Asiatic mainland. . . . It may have the one salutary effect of impelling the United States to draw closer to the nations of Europe and to Russia. Isolation is a desirable quality only when it pays to be isolated.—*June 7, 1933.*

DISCLOSURE BEFORE the Senate Banking and Currency Committee that Morgan and his nineteen partners, including such celebrities as Thomas Lamont and E. T. Stotesbury, paid no income taxes in this country for 1931 and 1932 . . . has excited tremendous surprise and no little indignation. . . . I am reminded, incidentally, of the severe lecture which Mr. Lamont read the Senate Finance Committee eighteen months ago on the deficiencies of Congress. He was thoroughly dissatisfied with the manner in which the country was being governed. . . . It would appear that he might have done better to leave criticism of the government to those of us who pay the costs.—PAUL Y. ANDERSON, *June 7, 1933.*

MAGISTRATE BENJAMIN GREENSPAN of New York City has dismissed the case brought by the Society for the Suppression of Vice against the Viking Press for publishing Erskine Caldwell's novel, "God's Little Acre." . . . Mr. Sumner, head of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, had protested that no consideration should be given to the defense of the book made by various literary critics because, so he said, literary critics were to be regarded as "abnormal people." To this Magistrate Greenspan replied: "The court is of the opinion that this group of people, collectively, has a better capacity to judge the value of a literary production than one who is more apt to search for obscene passages than to regard the book as a whole."—*June 7, 1933.*

WITH THEIR CUSTOMARY foresight, the railroads have contributed their bit toward industrial recovery and the restoration of purchasing power by announcing that they will ask their employees to take another 10 per cent wage cut.—*June 21, 1933.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tensions in British Politics

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

London, May 30

THE questions most frequently asked by British friends of American visitors concern the party struggle in America and the continuance of strikes. Britons find both conditions in America quite incomprehensible. One has to explain that the American constitutional system does not permit of so complete a truce in party conflict as prevails over here, since even if the President invited more Republicans into the Cabinet the Congress would still not be bound to keep the truce.

In regard to our strikes I think the British have a rather exaggerated impression, and I have sought to assure them that on the whole we have lost very few labor hours in strikes. They find John L. Lewis an intriguing figure and are somewhat mystified by his political motives.

It goes without saying that President Roosevelt is extremely popular over here. The British feel that he understood the world situation from the beginning. I was assured by one American that Roosevelt was actually more popular than Churchill, but I do not think that is so. It is true of course that liberal and labor people are critical of Churchill on domestic policy and are inclined to compare his general domestic orientation with Roosevelt's, to the disadvantage of Churchill; just as our conservatives express their disapproval of Roosevelt by their admiration for Churchill.

On the other hand, Churchill has a quite remarkable hold on the whole population. For the first time in my many visits to Britain I find that photographs of someone besides royalty dominate the store windows. The King and Queen are popular enough, as they always will be in the British scheme of things. But one sees pictures of Churchill everywhere. When I asked a friend about this he spoke with great emotion of the service Churchill had rendered the nation in the dark hours and months of their deepest anxieties, when he expressed the British courage and dogged determination to carry on so robustly and so eloquently. In the days after Dunkirk he both created and expressed a nation's determination, and a hope for which little justification could be found in the actual military situation.

Few leaders have the good fortune to become so wedded to their people by tragic circumstances. The difference between Roosevelt's and Churchill's political fortunes at this point is very great. Future historians may assess very highly Roosevelt's contribution in anticipating the realities of this conflict, which the nation as a whole did not foresee. But whatever our peril, it was not immediate or obvious enough to make a deep impression on the imagination of the people.

There is this difference also: that most Britishers speak of the days of their "appeasement" policy with disgust, even if they happen to have been champions of it. If they were, they give Churchill credit for understanding what they did not understand. We could hardly find such a mood of contrition among our "isolationists."

Churchill's popularity and the party truce do not of course eliminate all political tensions; and democracy would be dead if this were the case. The government's failure to do anything positive with the Beveridge report has left labor very dissatisfied. Labor is apprehensive that on the day of victory even the tentative promises of implementing the report will be forgotten. One prominent non-labor observer suggested that as the international outlook became brighter he could already discern a tendency among privileged groups to withdraw the measure of approval which they had given the Beveridge plan. He thought it would be the old story of "When the devil is sick the devil a monk would be."

Despite the various points of friction between the Conservatives and Labor, it now seems quite likely that the party truce may continue for some time after the war. There is every indication that Churchill's suggestion for an inter-party government, made in his address on post-war problems, will be accepted in some form or other. I have been a little surprised at the unanimity with which this idea is regarded as a probability even by those who do not approve of it. But upon examination it is not surprising. First of all, barring some unforeseen calamity, Churchill's prestige will be much too high after the war to be successfully challenged by the Labor Party. Labor might reduce the present Tory majority, but it would certainly not be able to establish a majority of its own. It therefore sees greater possibilities of gaining some advantages in post-war reconstruction by exerting pressures inside a national government than by being completely on the outside after losing an election.

A contributing cause of this state of affairs is undoubtedly the lack of any really powerful leadership in the labor movement. Sir Stafford Cripps is for the moment non-political, in the sense that as Minister of Aircraft Production he is successfully conducting one of the big administrative jobs. Though, unlike our various production "czars," he is a member of Parliament, he is not now an active parliamentarian. The strongest leader at the moment is undoubtedly Herbert Morrison. His political

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

authority has eclipsed that of Bevin, who is now merely highly respected as a first-rate "man-power" administrator and who speaks little on great political issues.

There are able men in the labor leadership for the day-to-day problems of administration, but there is no one who would give new intellectual or moral content to the labor cause or marshal popular emotion behind it. Some of the most vocal critics of the government are in fact not labor people at all but the Common Wealth group around Sir Richard Acland, which represents middle-class radicalism with a strong tinge of Christian socialism. There is also a group of young Tories who are about Disraeli's business of furbishing up the old Conservative creed with new and more radical meanings. This group supports the Beveridge plan, though with some reservations, and wants the "public" schools of Britain—that is, the private schools—democratized.

Stalin's dissolution of the Comintern has aroused more enthusiasm in left-liberal than in labor circles. The liberal *News-Chronicle* is taunting labor leaders for their lukewarm attitude toward the new Stalin line. The Labor Party executive has already acted on the plea of the Communist Party to be allowed to join the Labor Party. It had been widely assumed that the dissolution of the Comintern would alter the determination of the Labor Party not to let the Communists affiliate. But labor has stood pat. The executive declares that the new situation affects only one of their two objections to the Communist Party. It removes the objection that the Communist Party is subject to foreign control but does not alter the fact that it believes in revolution.

The left-liberal critics of labor point to this stand as proof of the stodginess and general lack of progressive imagination in labor. They may be right. On the other hand, the attitude of the non-labor enthusiasts for the Russian cause seems a bit too certain of the consequences of the dissolution of the Comintern.

There is probably no greater difference between the general public opinion in America and that in Britain than on this question of Russia. Even before the dissolution of the Comintern it was quite apparent that the closer comradeship in arms between Russia and Britain, the gratitude of Britain for the support given to the common cause by Russia, and the feeling that Russia and Britain must cooperate in peace as well as in war had made the British attitude toward Russia more cordial than ours; and the difference runs through all ranks from the most conservative to the left. In that sense the intransigence of labor is somewhat surprising.

On the left the debate on Russia seems to be for the moment paramount. One hears little about India, though as I write some typical Bloomsbury leftists are carrying banners down the street protesting against Gandhi's continued imprisonment. Until I saw them I was afraid that India had dropped out of sight.

In the Wind

DURING THE RECENT New York visit of President Benes of Czechoslovakia, Johannes Steel of the New York *Post* asked him what he thought of the efforts of the Archduke Otto to restore the Hapsburg dynasty. Dr. Benes smiled and said, "That is an American affair."

CORNELL UNIVERSITY is offering a new series of lectures this summer on Russian history and culture. It reports a growing demand for its Russian-language courses.

TOTAL WAR: Radio station WCHS, of Charlestown, West Virginia, is sending out promotional literature in the form of a questionnaire satirizing government questionnaires. A typical item is, "Give names, addresses, color, race, and creed of five citizens other than relatives who were present at your birth." The station suggests that the form be left blank and mailed to the garbage department.

ENGLISH SCHOOLBOYS, on the other hand, have advanced a suggestion for saving paper. In a letter to the Liverpool Board of Education some boys of that city wrote: "We feel that everybody should make some sacrifice for this great effort. It is the custom of masters here to impose as punishment 'lines'—senseless repetition which we have to write out on sheets and sheets of paper. This is a waste of good paper. We are prepared to stop it if the masters are."

THE COMMON TOUCH: C. E. Gishel, writing on employee relations in *Printer's Ink,* an advertising trade magazine, tells of a "very smart plan . . . developed by one labor-relations adviser who directed the president of the company to set up a little apartment and to live part of the time right at the plant. By prearrangement this president would be called into the plant every once in a while at two or three o'clock in the morning for consultation when things were not going just right. The workmen were first astonished and then gratified to see the big shot work just as hard as they."

PERHAPS FREUD could explain how it happened. In Ralph Bates's review of Waldo Frank's "South American Journey" for last week's *Nation,* the first sentence read, "I imagine that most readers will find vastly more pleasure . . . in the vivid incidental music than in the principal theme." The word "music" came out "murder."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Stockholm newspaper *Ny Dag* reports that a number of Czechs who had escaped from German labor camps have joined the Yugoslav partisans. . . . The *Deutsche Tuberkuloseblatt* says, "There has been an alarming increase in the number of cases of lung disease in industrial plants. The cases are of an acute and dangerous character."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Collapse of a Satellite

BY F. C. WEISKOPF

CONDITIONS in the small nations which have been woven into the design of an Axis-dominated Europe are a fairly accurate gauge of the demoralization which is gradually gaining momentum within the Nazi stronghold. Slovakia is a striking illustration. Slovakia was not overrun by German armies, nor has it been governed by a Nazi *Kommandantur*. The conquest of Slovakia was accomplished before the outbreak of the war, by Munich, and Slovakia was received into the Greater German Reich as an "honored ally." If the Nazis bled Slovakia of its soldiers and carried off the gold in its National Bank and its skilled labor, they did it behind a screen of Slovakian "independence." Slovaks sat at government desks, though their Nazi advisers sat behind them in the shadow.

For a time, immediately after Munich and in the first stages of the war, the fascist elements in Slovakia—the élite of the Hlinka party, the Hlinka Guard, and the Nazified German *Volksgruppe*—foresaw an easy internal victory, with the whole population won over to the cause of National Socialism. Today all available evidence—the reports of the underground as well as the testimony of the Nazis and their Slovak puppets—indicates very clearly that a wave of deep unrest is sweeping over the country from the Danube to the Carpathians.

Moreover, the belief in German invincibility has been destroyed. Defeatist rumors flood the country. "The people, terrified by bad news, are losing their desire to work and their faith in the future," said Monsignor Tiso, President of Slovakia, in an article published last spring. "We must all work against this terrible infection," he continued, "mainly by showing that we ourselves are not stricken with it. A good Slovak does not allow enemy propaganda to influence him. He lives confidently, he works ceaselessly, and he faces the future calmly." Little is left of the vigor and confidence that prevailed in September, 1940, when Tiso felt sure that Slovakia was "on the road to unprecedented glory."

The causes of the "defeatist infection" and the rising unrest are found in the rapid deterioration of the standard of living resulting from the Nazis' systematic looting of the country and in the disastrous fate of the two Slovak divisions sent to the eastern front. When news of the complete rout of the East Slovak Division in the Kuban valley, of the desertion of several companies to the Russians, and of the cruelly suppressed mutiny of the Third Infantry Regiment reached the homeland early this year, both the Hlinka Guard and the Gestapo were put to considerable trouble to control the agitation. In March the strong man of the Slovak puppet government, Sano Mach, issued a decree closing "all bars and cafes suspected to be centers of whispered propaganda." One of the largest movie theaters of Bratislava was closed in April after repeated demonstrations by the audience over newsreels of the war. When Adolf Hitler's picture appeared on the screen with the inscription, "Help me, and you're helping yourself," people laughed and shouted, "Stop the war! Stop the slaughter of our Slavic brothers!" The strength of the defeatist mood was acknowledged by one of the leading Slovak Quislings, Professor Bela Tuka, in a speech at Zilina. After condemning the "political guerrillas in Slovakia . . . not only Jews, Czechs, and Bolsheviks but also their helpers and followers," Tuka asserted vehemently that "to think, to discuss, or even to admit the possibility of a victory of the other side is treason; defeatists should be shot."

Anger and hatred, sabotage and resistance are the people's response to the Nazi policy of plunder and coercion. The Food Administration of Slovakia has had to order the seizure of cattle "at the source." The administration was forced to take this step by "the total failure of the system of relying on voluntary discipline and patriotic duty." And Adolf Hitler's paper, the *Völkische Beobachter*, has admitted that Slovak sugar-beet growers in 1942 tilled only 80 per cent of the 1941 acreage, despite the incentive of higher prices.

Industrial sabotage has markedly increased during the past year. The German-language paper of Bratislava, the *Grenzbote*, which is directed by State Secretary Karmasin, the Führer of the German *Volksgruppe* in Slovakia, has repeatedly attacked the paper, metal, and textile plants for allowing "tool damage, slowdowns, and output of poor quality." One of the boldest acts of sabotage was the bombing of the new munitions factory at Szisska Nova Ves. Another wrecked the Bata Shoe Works at Simovany; 20,000 pairs of boots for the German army were burned and precious machines were ruined.

Opposition to the Nazis and their Slovak henchmen manifests itself vividly in the attitude of the people toward the Jews. Anti-Jewish propaganda has utterly failed. Anti-Jewish decrees are widely disregarded. The newspapers of the Hlinka Guard and the German Nazis in Slovakia are filled with reports of trials of violators of the anti-Jewish laws. For example, the district court

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Kosice sentenced the farm hand Josef Drotar to five months' imprisonment because he had sheltered in his hut eight young Jewish refugees. An article in the *Grenzbote* of April complained bitterly that "the Slovak population in eastern Slovakia still tries to protect Jews and to keep them in jobs."

Catholic and Protestant clergymen are openly taking issue with the anti-Jewish policy enforced by the Nazis. On January 30, 1942, the *Gardista,* organ of the Hlinka Guard, reported that a Greek Catholic priest, Father Michal Slabata of Lastovce, had been sent to the concentration camp of Ilava because he "baptized thirty-six Jews to save them from deportation."

After the Protestant church had protested against the growing loss of religious freedom and of the dignity of man, seven of the eight Catholic bishops issued a pastoral letter condemning "sentences without trials," defending their right to baptize Jews, and demanding that state protection be extended to every citizen irrespective of nationality or creed. This step of the bishops is the more important because the Hlinka party, main pillar of the fascist regime in Slovakia, is a Catholic party.

Last winter defeatism became so widespread that the policy of suppressing all news of it was abandoned and the press and spokesmen of the Hlinka Guard began to campaign against persons preparing "alibis in the event of a victory for the other side." The *Gardista* referred to "those armchair strategists who are talking as if the Red Army would walk through the streets of Berlin in a week or so, and as if American scouts were already appearing at the Brenner Pass." As an example of the growing boldness of the "alibi seekers" the same paper cited the publication of a book entitled "Theory of Literature," by Professor Mikulas Bartok. This book, it said, "even contains a contribution by a Soviet Jew." What is worse, it "was named as one of the best books of the year by a number of artists, actors, writers, and other intellectuals."

Listening to Allied broadcasts seems to be a general practice to judge from the number of persons tried for tuning in on London, Moscow, and sometimes the short-wave broadcasts from Boston. The grim business of stamping out "black listening" was enlivened by an amusing incident reported in the fascist press. A certain radio operator in a small town felt an unholy curiosity about the London broadcasts of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile. One day he succumbed and tuned in, forgetting in the excitement of the moment to switch off the town's loud-speaker system. Suddenly the surprised townspeople heard anti-Nazi propaganda trumpeted through the streets. The populace demonstrated, the local fascists were in a panic, and the radio operator was sent to a concentration camp.

No sketch of the situation in Slovakia would be complete without mention of the general hatred for the neighboring Axis partner, Hungary. So strong is this feeling that even the puppet government and the Hlinka Guard must bow to it and emphasize from time to time their dislike of their comrades-in-shame of Budapest. Slovak public opinion, moreover, is showing a tendency to favor the restoration of the Czechoslovak Republic. Even Axis sources admit the existence and strength of this trend; from 80 to 85 per cent of the total population is said to support it.

The drive for Slovak volunteers to be sent to the eastern front failed spectacularly. According to a recent report from the underground movement to the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, Sano Mach, the most ardent of Hitler's Slovak puppets, was called to Germany and asked to furnish the Führer with 10,000 Slovak volunteers. He promised to do so, and his assistant, Murgas, started a mammoth recruiting drive. Just fifty-seven volunteers were garnered. Whispered rumors and jokes in Slovakia have it that after the result had been announced at a meeting of the Slovak Cabinet, one of the ministers proposed to shoot the fifty-seven recruits at once in order to save transportation costs to the eastern front, where they would either surrender or be killed anyway.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

MORE and more the Nazis are directing their remarks about "bad morale" toward the upper rather than the lower levels of society. At the end of May the newspapers of the province of Hesse-Nassau published an article by Gauleiter Weinreich attacking once again the "fantastic rumors" being circulated—rumors, it said, which were spread "especially by high-titled dummies." "These people should not imagine," it continued threateningly, "that we do not know how to deal with them. We have handled others like them. Our methods have not become gentler in these days, and we do not forget that the chancellors of the German Reich at the beginning and the end of the last war were called *von* Bethmann-Hollweg and *Prince* Max of Baden."

Even today many thousands of German families do not know what happened to their relatives who fought at Stalingrad. That is the reason for a drive which has been officially named "Stalingrad Information Service." The *Neue Wiener Tageblatt* of May 7 printed the order authorizing it, but nowhere else has it received any publicity. In troop quarters, barracks, and similar places a notice has been posted asking all who took part in the Stalingrad campaign to write out anything they may know about the fate of any comrade and hand it in to their superior officer. Information so obtained is "cleared" in various centers, to which the relatives of soldiers can address inquiries. The authorities considered it necessary

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to state expressly that "families making inquiries must be treated pleasantly and given any needed assistance."

One might have thought on June 6 that one had been carried back to the best days of the Nazis. At least that would have been the impression of anyone who had a glimpse of the Berlin Sportpalast or tuned in on a German radio station. Crashing music, a forest of flags. Theatrical entrance of delegations. A galaxy of party pashas and generals. An audience that at the given signal rose to its feet and roared in transports of ecstasy. And the exalted tone of the radio announcers!

What was staged so pretentiously was this: "For the first time the Führer is allowing the German people to be given more exact facts about the gigantic development of our arms production."

The task was assigned to Albert Spee, the Minister of Munitions. In his speech Herr Spee declared that Germany possessed greater armaments in May, 1943, than at any time before. And to support his claim he gave some figures. They were not figures of absolute quantities but comparative figures. And the comparison was between the month of May, 1943, and the already remote "monthly average of 1941." Thus the production of locomotives in May was stated to have been three times as large as the 1941 average; that of munitions, six times; of cannon, four times; of heavy trucks, twelve times. The number of persons employed in war industries, in spite of the stream of inductions into the army, was stated to be 23 per cent higher than a year ago—and with that we have almost everything that the Minister imparted to his audience. U-boat production he did not mention. Of aircraft he said that even comparative figures would be too useful to the enemy to be revealed.

Of course the figures would have told little even if they had been correct. Nobody knows what the "average of 1941" was. It may have been very low. In any case Germany faces quite different enemies and a quite different enemy production from those it faced in 1941.

It is interesting that German propaganda felt the pressure of Allied production figures. The public must have found it suspicious that the exact German figures were never set off against them. Hence the sudden announcement of the pseudo-exact figures—with the maximum pomp and circumstance. Goebbels himself left no doubt about the purpose. He followed the speech of the Minister of Munitions with one of his own—one of his most excited and screaming speeches—which showed plainly what ideas in German heads the grandiose celebration was to sweep away. "Nor is the potential of the enemy unlimited," he cried. "With respect to number of workers he simply cannot attempt to compete with us. It is only boasting that he understands better. But we have no reason to be disturbed by the enemy's fantastic figures. The Jewish numbers-acrobats cannot make us nervous."

Papal Guidance

POPE PIUS'S speech last week on the "labor question" may have a demoralizing effect upon large sections of the European underground. It was made before 20,000 workers from every part of Italy, who crowded the transportation lines to the Vatican with the beneficent approval of the Fascist authorities. At least three times the Italian workers heard the Pope specifically condemn revolution.

"False prophets would have us believe," said the Pope, "that salvation must come from a revolution which will overturn social order and assume a national character." But, he insisted, "your salvation does not lie in revolution." And again, "Salvation and justice are not to be found in revolution but in an evolution through concord."

In short, as the time approaches when the Allies will need all the help they can get from the Italian workers, their spiritual adviser tells them not to revolt. Obviously, the speech was not intended purely for Italian consumption. It was very promptly dispatched, by cable and radio, to all parts of the world. And it must have hit with equal force in other countries where the job of the underground and guerrilla fighters is primarily revolutionary; that is, in Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and to a lesser extent France. Revolution in those countries is indispensable to the establishment of democracy, but in Italy and Hungary, at least, the influence of the Catholic church can be decisive. If Catholics in those countries take their guidance from the Pope, their aid will be withheld from the underground.

Nowhere in his speech did the Pope attempt to give guidance to Catholics in countries where the task of the underground worker is primarily to wage a war for national liberation—Norway, Holland, Belgium, Greece, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. But much can be inferred from recent Vatican broadcasts emphasizing the "constant solicitude" and the "feelings of sympathy and affection" which the Holy See has for Poland. It appears that the Vatican would not object to Catholic participation in the liberation of countries under direct Nazi administration.

The anti-revolutionary parts of the Pope's speech have a significant relationship to the numerous rumors circulated during the past two years to the effect that the State Department is planning to back post-war reactionary regimes in just those countries where the underground is working for revolution. In the countries where the underground is working chiefly for national liberation, on the other hand, conservative elements welcome a certain amount of underground assistance; after liberation there will still be the possibility of by-passing leaders whose principal aim is the establishment of democracy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Mr. Lippmann's Realism

U. S. FOREIGN POLICY: SHIELD OF THE REPUBLIC. By Walter Lippmann. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $1.50.

FOR generations America cherished the shibboleth of independence and refused to face the reality of interdependence. We did that which was right in our own eyes, and without caring to investigate what the others were doing, we sternly told them not to. Old Romans, pacifists, and humanitarians shared in that flattering delusion.

A delusion it was, and Walter Lippmann exposes it without mercy. A country whose commitments are out of all proportion to its means of action is literally "insolvent." We shouldered two heavy commitments, the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door in China. Now for many years we had no power to enforce the policies we had proclaimed. If Germany did not grab southern Brazil, if Europe did not partition China, the one obstacle was not our fiat but the British navy. While we were twisting the lion's tail, the lion was faithfully guarding our gates.

I may add that no power on earth is equal to its commitments. Denmark was not equal to its modest commitments—to preserve its neutrality and independence. England and France were not equal to their commitments—to defend the European order and their own empires. Their "insolvency" is patent. To be fully solvent, each power should have armaments equal to those of the rest of the world combined.

This confirms Lippmann's main thesis: that safety can be found only in a combination of armaments and alliances. Not purely Machiavellian alliances, among nations which thoroughly distrust one another, but genuine ententes among peoples *which have deep and permanent interests in common.* The model of such alliances, according to Lippmann, is the tacit understanding which for 120 years has linked England's policies with ours.

Lippmann feels, however, that a formal alliance, a "Union Now" with the British Commonwealth *alone,* is an impossibility. I heartily concur. The world dreads Anglo-Saxon supremacy and would band together to resist it. We have no desire to underwrite the British Empire as at present constituted. We do not want to be embroiled in the problems of Europe, and England, most reluctantly no doubt, is an integral part of Europe. The "nuclear" alliance advocated by Lippmann should include, at once and on equal terms, Russia and probably China.

The word "nuclear" is capital. Lippmann wants the alliance to be opened, gradually, to all like-minded nations. His plan is not sheer power politics, or a revival of that ancient fallacy, balance. We want to destroy forever the balance between the forces of order and the forces of disruption. The "nuclear" alliance is intended to develop into a world commonwealth. But power, unquestioned and wisely wielded, is necessary to permit the growth of such a complex and delicate organization.

This, by the way, was Clemenceau's idea. He was not averse to the world republic adumbrated by the League of Nations. But he wanted, for a generation at least, a "nuclear" alliance between England, France, and America. We induced him to abandon material defenses—the Rhine as a permanent military frontier—in exchange for the promise of such an alliance. Then we tore up the alliance, sabotaged the League, and called Clemenceau a wicked old man.

I like Lippmann's tough-minded realism. If Wilson had told the world, and America, that our motive was enlightened selfishness, his case would have been far stronger. We were then, we are now, defending in Europe the frontiers of American life and security. If this had been understood, we could not, virtuously and vainly, have attempted to exact repayment from our comrades in arms. They did not "hire the money" any more than we "hired their soldiers." We fought in a common cause.

However, a tough-minded realist has no right to say: "Therefore we must consider first and last the American national interest." An unimpeachable sentiment, no doubt: but a sentiment all the same. For a true realist and rugged individualist, the only proper rule is: "Myself first, and last, and all the time!" I admit that in defending our territory we are defending our way of life; but as the Hibernian would say, no way of life is worth dying for. I shamelessly confess that in fighting for America I am fighting for a principle which I identify with my own dignity—a very quixotic thing to do. And a principle ignores boundaries: there are servants of liberty in Germany, and fascists in America.

From the point of view of the realistic historian, the weakness of Lippmann's book is that he ignores Europe west of the Curzon line. That Europe does exist, although Hitler is turning it into a hideous caricature. It will never accept dictation from either the English-speaking world or from Russia. United, as it must and shall be, it will inevitably upset any "order" that we might attempt to impose. For a Western European the current talk about the Big Four would be offensive, if it were not naive. Mr. Lippmann's book therefore needs an additional chapter. But with the ten chapters he has written I am in accord, an accord full of subtle dissonances, as required by the laws of modern music.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Isak Dinesen

WINTER'S TALES. By Isak Dinesen. Random House. $2.50.

WE NOW know Isak Dinesen to be Baroness Blixen of Denmark. It was apparent from the first that the author who published, in complete pseudonymity, "Gothic Tales" in 1934, was a woman, a native of Northern Europe, and a person whose sources were in some manner attached to the feudal tradition. "Gothic Tales," because of their exuberance (severely regulated as it was), their civilized bitterness and range, their brilliantly informed fantasy, were

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clearly an end product of some kind. They had the quality, under the surface classicism of their style, of that sparkling improvisation contrasted with melancholy reverie so usual in Romantic music: the romance of the incompletely lighted and fantastic nineteenth-century "soul," at the end of one thing as much as at the beginning of another; caught back into nostalgia for the past and filled with premonitory anguish. But unlike Romantic music, these tales came to some sharp conclusions. Their intellectual underpinning was sturdy. They were highly conscious productions. The author behind them was not one to be taken in, least of all by herself.

"Out of Africa" (1938) brought the unknown author before us in the round. An autobiographical account of Baroness Blixen's life as owner of a coffee plantation in Kenya Colony, it showed exactly what a feudal heritage had given this woman, and to what use she had put inherited ideas of responsibility. Her growth as an artist is also described; so that the reader, having read "Gothic Tales" with only the information he could deduce from it, comes to any later work knowing more than one usually knows concerning a modern writer. He knows, for example, the writer's courage, both physical and moral, having watched it at work in rude and isolated surroundings. He knows by the facts and their manner of presentation that she is as tender as she is courageous, as profoundly perceptive as she is sensitively humane.

The new book is not "Gothic Tales" all over again. The inventive extravagance has been reduced; the stories do not multiply, one within another, in the earlier manner. They share the simplicity and background, often, of the folk tale. But unlike the folk tale, they do not repeat some obsession of the simple mind—fear, desire for power or wealth or luck or freedom from restriction. And it is interesting to see how completely they differ from those "fairy tales" composed by Isak Dinesen's fellow-countryman, Hans Christian Anderson. In Anderson the folk tale took on, for all his charm of treatment, elements of sentiment and "rise": the Ugly Duckling is a far more bourgeois character than Cinderella. The majority of the characters in "Winter's Tales" aren't going anywhere, in the success-story sense. And those who have some selfish or insolent plans for themselves are soon taken down by unforeseen small circumstance. Destiny's plans, far more noble than any they could have invented for themselves, take over (as in the case of the young wife in The Pearls and the writer in The Young Man with the Carnation). These plans of destiny often have heavy justice in them and work on two planes. The cruel feudal despot who misuses his power (Sorrow-Acre) is baffled not only by the selflessness of his victim but by the unfaithfulness of his wife, whose child by her lover will break the closed line of succession. And at the center of the book stands the child Jens, the pure poet and "comic fabulist" who knows his place in this world without having to be taught it; when he is transplanted from poverty to riches, he can look back on poverty with pleasure, accepting luxury the while, and remember the pleasing elements in the nature of his former friends, the rats.

The blunt and flourishing optimism of middle-class materialism could not have produced these stories. That we get them at this particular period of history is a remarkable thing in itself. They are, it is true, from time to time informed with the sharp bite of the civilized fable. But they are not fables, but parables. They deal almost entirely with inner themes of "love, hate, and reparation"; with spiritual, not "practical," truths. The witty yet profound treatment of the artist and his public in terms of God and Job (A Consolatory Story) sums up the author's view of one problem of reconciliation. Here light is thrown upon a situation by means of irony. Elsewhere Isak Dinesen prefers to irradiate mysteries of conduct by mention of other mysteries, as when, at the end of The Invincible Slave Owners, the perplexed lover, realizing that certain human situations exist which nothing can change, contemplates the waterfall and thinks of the fugue. As in all good parables, the lines of meaning are not pulled tight. The reader is left with the threads in his own hands, and can examine and combine them according to his own experience.

The period quality is exquisitely managed. The publishers, it is true, have built up all the fustian possibilities of this atmosphere. The book is very nearly bound in seafoam and stardust; and one must grin and bear the book-jacket surrealism which runs over on to the end-papers. The little blurbs provided by the publicity department for each story should be ignored; their facts are sometimes wrong and their interpretation almost always queer. These are by no means special or bizarre stories. They belong to an old and great tradition and are worthy of it. That they have been written in English is our good luck, the chance of contact with European tradition at present being what it is. It is good to be able to read them early, even though they are certain to be around for a long time.

LOUISE BOGAN

Concerning Cartels

GERMANY'S MASTER PLAN: THE STORY OF THE INDUSTRIAL OFFENSIVE. By Joseph Borkin and Charles A. Welsh. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.75.

ECONOMICS IN UNIFORM: MILITARY ECONOMY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE. By Albert T. Lauterbach. Princeton University Press. $3.

CARTELS are nearly half a century old, and their operations affect practically every sector of the economic life of most modern countries. Yet a good all-around book on cartels has not been available to the general public. Messrs. Borkin and Welsh, of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice and of the OPA, set out to provide such a book. In this they have not been too successful. For the specialist and economist their book contains little that cannot be found in such standard works as the reports prepared for the League of Nations in 1930 and 1931, the report and proceedings of the Temporary National Economic Committee, and Dr. Liefman's book. The reader of an outstanding daily and of the liberal weeklies will also find little that is new in the book. In fact, articles such as those which appeared in the New York *Herald Tribune* in the autumn of 1941 as part of that paper's campaign to release the war economy from the restraints of foreign cartels or those written by Guenther Reimann for the *New Republic* have covered the ground at least as effectively.

In their effort to write a popular book the authors have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

adopted a peculiar style and a very strange approach to their subject. The style is flamboyant and fatuous, presumably in emulation of the style of the big-circulation daily and the popular radio program. The chapter headings are as colorful as the title. Here are some examples: I. G.—The Vials of Wrath; The Frozen Rage Across the Rhine; Mosquitoes, Malaria, and Monopoly; Krupp—the Hammer of Thor; The Wizards of Jena; The Sorcerer's Apprentice. The contents of the chapters abound in such passages as: "Without I. G. [Farben] Germany could not, twice within a generation, have filled the vials of wrath and hurled their Prussic acid in the face of the world. What might have been was not to be." Or: "In 1912 explosives for Krupp's cannon were still in hostage to the nitrate beds of Chile. The long hand across the seas dominated by Great Britain was the leash which bound Germany to peace. In 1913 Germany cut the knot by making nitrates out of air. In 1914 Germany went to war!"

Messrs. Borkin and Welsh have adopted a narrative method reminiscent of that of the popular thrillers. An attempt is made to turn the world of dyestuffs, chemical discoveries, and cartel organization into a world of secrets revealed for the first time, plots and counterplots, and diabolical scheming, and highly efficient and precise planning and organization. All that is fundamentally wicked in the modern world, including World Wars I and II, is attributed to I. G. and kindred organizations. German sorcerers succeed in making nitrates out of air, and, bang! Germany goes to war. German sorcerers try again and this time discover how oil can be obtained from coal and rubber from oil. Again the plot is hatched, and again, according to the authors, "war became a certainty. Only time and timing were in doubt."

Despite the devices to which the authors have resorted in order to make their subject popular, it is hardly likely that "Germany's Master Plan" will ever attain best-seller status in view of the mass of detail, quotation, and testimony which the authors have piled up in order to make their plots real and gruesome. This is a pity, because a simple and a balanced account of cartels would be very timely. Balance, however, is as necessary as simplicity. The chemical world and cartels are not the devils of the piece, nor are they the result of schemes of "artistic and scientific perfection." The rapid development of chemistry just happens to be the principal feature of the modern age, and Germany with its I. G. was not alone in this. The growth of Imperial Chemicals in the British Empire and of du Pont in this country has also been phenomenal. The danger behind cartels is not the masterminds and perfect scheming which Messrs. Borkin and Welsh attribute to them. It is precisely the opposite—stupidity, narrow-mindedness, and cupidity. To be convinced of this one has merely to read Fritz Thyssen's autobiography, "I Paid Hitler." It was because of their stupidity that German business men became easy dupes of Hitler and the Nazis; they became accomplices later, when they had been completely taken in and could not turn back. It is this very stupidity that makes it highly dangerous to allow such powerful tools as cartels to remain in the hands of those who now control them.

"Economics in Uniform" is quite a different sort of book. It is not so amusing as "Germany's Master Plan." It is a scholar's systematic, patient, and thoroughgoing treatise on the evolution of the totalitarian economy. The scope of Dr. Lauterbach's book is admittedly narrow. It is to the world of ideas and concepts in this field, rather than to the physical or outward development of totalitarian economy in its various forms, that the author devotes his efforts. The result is an introduction to the origins, meanings, definitions, and evolution of the concepts of the *total* economy, serving a limited but, nevertheless, a very useful purpose. This introduction will prove helpful both to the teacher and to the serious student of the economic development of the past twenty-five years.

RIFAT TIRANA

The Unconquered

THE LAST DAYS OF SEVASTOPOL. By Boris Voyetekhov. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

MIRACLE IN HELLAS: THE GREEKS FIGHT ON. By Betty Wason. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

AFTER so many solemn tomes about the U. S. S. R. as a political phenomenon it is refreshing to discover that the Russians are still people, not just specimens in a sociological laboratory. Boris Voyetekhov, a young playwright, takes the Soviet regime so much for granted that he scarcely mentions it and even allows himself the occasional luxury of grousing about official red tape. The destroyer that bore him to Sevastopol dodged shells, mines, bombs, and submarines; at the conclusion of the hellish voyage a party functionary met them at the dock and asked the ship's commissar how many meetings he had held during the trip. " 'We had a meeting,' said the ship's commissar, 'to discuss the liquidation of fools like you.' " The zealous party official went away, showing "neither shame nor regret in his dim fish-like eyes."

Human beings are more absorbing to Mr. Voyetekhov than political systems. He is interested in the fact that a Russian plane crew, after barely escaping death in a fight with a Heinkel, celebrated by throwing a party for a bear, a donkey, and two foxes, former residents of an abandoned zoo. He notes that the fliers coined silly nicknames for each other. He is amused by their system of awarding each other point scores for bright-cracks which, like witticisms the world over, must surely have sounded funnier at the time than they do in print. He observes that the elderly Sevastopol postmen, having to work underground during the siege, were irked by the lack of house numbers; so they took numbers from wrecked homes above ground and placed them over dugouts.

The Germans, having besieged Sevastopol for eight months, began their third and final land offensive soon after Mr. Voyetekhov arrived. It opened with an eight-day air offensive during which not only bombs but also scrap metal —"pieces of rail, tractor motors, cart wheels, and plows"— were showered on the city. There was a steady accompaniment of artillery shelling. At the end of this German aerial photographs "proved conclusively that Sevastopol had ceased to exist." It still did exist, however, because the Russians had burrowed. In one of the underground labyrinths hundreds of lathes hummed and rattled, producing mines; light was generated by a tractor motor, "puffing and smoking like a bad old samovar"; a cook and a typesetter worked side by side, and the potato peelings lay among the type.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Perhaps a grim sense of humor saved the sanity of these defenders of Sevastopol. By day the front-line fighters fought with bullets; at night their propagandists fought with words over the radio, blaring at each other's trenches. "The announcers came to know each other well during the siege and loudly reproached each other for professional faults, for bad grammar, poor jokes, traces of drunkenness in their voices, and other technical shortcomings." Sailors were fighting in the front-line trenches, and one evening the German radio promised a motor launch to every deserter. The Russians roared with laughter, and their radio made a record and bounced the magnified laughter back at the Germans.

The incredible heroism of the Russians shines through the incidents Mr. Voyetekhov recounts. One sailor showed his courage in an unforgettably macabre fashion. He was arrested and about to be shot for robbing Russian bodies at night in no man's land. Then he explained: if the Germans had the nerve to go out and rob the dead, he asked himself why he couldn't find spunk enough to go out and collect mementoes of his fallen sailor-comrades to send back to their families. His unit commissar rescued him from execution.

The ordinary people of Greece had the same reckless, courageous zeal to fight the Nazis, but they were not fortunate enough to have a government which expunged traitors in high places. The Greek Minister of War, according to Betty Wason, practically ushered the Germans into the country. Other officials in Athens, euphemistically called "fifth columnists," toadied to the conquerors.

Miss Wason, a young and somewhat naive American radio and newspaper correspondent, tells in the first part of her book about her own experiences in the last days of free Greece and the early days of Nazi occupation. In the second and more interesting part of her book she carries on the story of Greek resistance as she has learned it from underground sources since she got out.

Her picture of guerrilla activities, although necessarily hazy, is the best that has come out. The Gestapo is not so clever after all, for there is a brisk and continuous spy travel in and out of Greece. Some of the Greeks who have become pals with the Nazis actually are compound fifth columnists working for the forces of freedom. Some of the most decorous priests are underground leaders. Three thousand British troops who were left in Greece have joined the guerrilla bands in their devastating raids on trains and arsenals—raids which are planned as carefully as any battle, with Greek girls paving the way for the ambush by being kind to the Nazi guards and giving them too much *ouzo* to drink. The Greek people still consider themselves at war with the Nazis.

The penalty for being caught is, of course, execution. But the Greeks seem to be as little concerned about death as the Russians. After all, there are so many forms of death all around them—from famine, from exposure, from concentration-camp tortures, and mental death from insanity—that the German threat of execution is not a deterrent. Miss Wason estimates that a tenth of the normal population of Greece already has died from starvation.

Miss Wason is so enthusiastic about Greeks, both ancient and modern, that her book has the flavor of an uncritical eulogy. She does not investigate the reasons why Greek resistance was crippled by intrigue among the leaders, nor

Just Published

News Is What We Make It

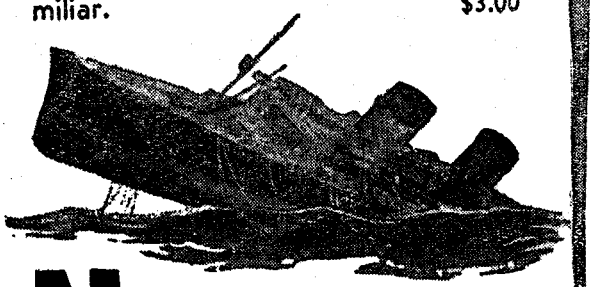
A Running Story of the Working Press

One of the best things about America is its free thinking, loose talking press. This is a personal history of a newspaper man who has worked as copy editor, as reporter, copy reader, national news editor of the Literary Digest, member of the Sunday staff of the New York Times and news editor of PM.

His book reflects the coming of age of the American newspaper man.

And here, lifesize, are the stars of the newspaper world, the men who are shaping its history. Here are F.P.A., Sherwood Anderson, Heywood Broun, Walter Duranty, Ernest Hemingway, and Sinclair Lewis, and many more whose names are as familiar.

$3.00



News Is What We Make It

BY KENNETH STEWART

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY · PUBLISHERS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG.
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YALE

By David J. Dallin

Translated by Leon Dennen

SOVIET RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY 1939-1942

Reviews like these have carried this important book into a second printing:

MICHAEL KARPOVICH in *The Yale Review:*

"A detailed, systematic, and well-documented study. . . . On the whole his judgment is sound, and in view of the controversial nature of the subject, his approach is notable for an almost surprising degree of detachment."

EUGENE M. KAYDEN in *The Virginia Quarterly Review:*

"The most scholarly and well-documented history of our tortuous diplomacy. . . . He has achieved a masterly work of reporting, analysis, and interpretation. . . . His summary is terse and splendid."

HANS KOHN in the *New Republic:*

"Learned, very readable treatise, based on a thoughtful perusal of available documents. . . . Dr. Dallin writes with impartiality and great serenity of judgment."

$3.75 *On sale at all bookstores*

Yale University Press

New Haven, Connecticut

ASIA AND THE AMERICAS

announces

A Special China Number in July in tribute to our gallant ally and friend on the eve of the seventh year of its war with Japan

THE FUTURE OF ASIA — *By Lin Yutang*
AFTER SIX YEARS OF WAR — *By Hsieh Ho-keng*
JOURNIEY TO PIEN CHING — *By Alan Priest*
LISTEN TO THE YOUNG — *by Chen Shih-hsiang*
FUKIEN, MY HOME — *By Philip Lin*
THE GUERRILLAS GOT GUNS AND GOT OUT — *By Hsu Meng-hsiung*
CHINA SPEAKS TO AMERICA — *A Radio Play By Pearl S. Buck*
MY TRIP TO OCCUPIED HONG KONG — *By David Chong*
THE WAR IN CHINESE POETRY — *By Mary K. Willmott and Yu Teh-chi*

35c AT ALL NEWSSTANDS NOW

In order not to miss this and future timely issues

SUBSCRIBE NOW

1 Year $4 **2 Years $6**

ASIA AND THE AMERICAS
40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

does she question whether King George's present government-in-exile in London is truly representative of the Greek people. She accepts the Yugoslav warrior, General Mihailovich, as a great man who knits together the Balkan rebels across national boundaries; perhaps so, but some think differently. Miss Wason lifts a corner of the veil over the dark continent of Europe, but there is much more to be told.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

A Fighting European

MAX NORDAU: A BIOGRAPHY. By Anna and Maxa Nordau. Published by the Nordau Committee. $3.75.

THIS biography has the fragrance of a bouquet of flowers picked in the garden of memory. But it is much more than that. It pictures a cross-section of the spiritual life on the border line of two centuries as it was reflected in a strong personality in whom manifold knowledge and poetic inspiration harmoniously blended with the love of mankind. By profession Nordau was a physician, a sociologist, a philosopher, a journalist, a playwright, and an art critic, but first and foremost he was a champion of freedom.

Whether we believe in progress or not, there is an unmistakable trend of history manifesting the endeavor of man to be ever more free from both the tyranny of nature and enslavement by his fellow-beings. This struggle for freedom gave birth to the positivism of the nineteenth century, striving to get rid of shackling survivals. Unlimited faith in rationalism explains the unparalleled success which Nordau's "The Conventional Lies of Our Civilization" achieved all over the world sixty years ago. But the author's wisdom surpassed that of his era. Twenty-five years later, in the preface of the fifty-ninth edition, Nordau himself renounced the belief in the irresistible force of reason by admitting that "the feelings stand guard over the 'conventional lies.'" Two others of his books, "Paradoxes" and "Degeneration," in which he continued to attack many sacred cows of prejudice, provoked furious replies even from G. B. Shaw. Nevertheless, Nordau was a better judge of Richard Wagner's megalomania when he wrote, "German hysteria manifests itself in anti-Semitism, that most dangerous form of persecution mania, in which he who believes himself persecuted becomes himself a savage persecutor and stops at no crimes."

Nordau's *œuvre,* securing him a prominent place in the history of human thought, is but one of the pillars on which his fame rests. After the pogrom of Kishinew and after the Dreyfus affair he became interested, through Theodor Herzl, in the Zionist movement. To Nordau, Zion, the "City of God," meant a community where truth, freedom, and justice rule. He supported whole-heartedly the desire of the persecuted Eastern Jews to create, as he termed it at the First Zionist Congress, a "Jewish National Home." Through his relentless, unselfish work he became, together with Herzl and Zangwill, a recognized leader of the movement. He was, indeed, its prophet when in addressing a hostile audience of Berlin Jews he uttered this warning: "A day will come on which Zionism will be as much needed by you, you proud Germans, as by those wretched *Ostjuden* whom you fear and hate. A day will come on which you too will beg our help

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and be suppliants for asylum in that land which you now scorn."

Three years after his death, Tel Aviv, the symbol of his successful efforts, became his resting place. Now his widow and his daughter have put a wreath on this grave. What they have written is not only a truthful account of the interesting life of an interesting personality, not only a vivid picture of Nordau's accomplishments, but a literary accomplishment as well. The great artistic ability of both authors becomes manifest in the objectivity which reveals no suppression of their emotional relationship with their subject; yet they have not written a eulogy. It is a graceful, captivating biography of a great European who was born in Hungary, became a German author, lived in France, was exiled in Spain, fought for Zion, and remained a true humanitarian all his life.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Fiction in Review

BURDENED by its uningratiating title, by the fact that it is a novel by a newspaperman (for we have little reason to think that journalism is a good training school for fiction), and even by a dust-jacket whose quaintness is maniacally designed to drive away readers, Ira Wolfert's "Tucker's People" (L. B. Fischer, $3) is the surprise literary package of the season—the most thoughtful and talented novel I have read this year. Mr. Wolfert is correspondent for the North American Newspaper Alliance, a Pulitzer prize-winner in reporting, and author of "The Battle of the Solomons," but he turns out to be that rarest of creatures, a newspaperman with a notable gift for creative writing. "Tucker's People" is an outstanding novel, the simple statement of whose theme—the numbers racket in Harlem—gives no hint of its emotional and intellectual scope.

"Tucker's People" is a study in gangsterism; its characters are all racketeers, politicians, hangers-on, police, and their families. But this is no Damon Runyonesque novel of the underworld. Mr. Wolfert talks out of his head, not out of the corner of his mouth. If he writes about gangsterism, it is as an aspect of our whole predatory economic structure, and at least by implication his novel is as much a novel of legitimate American business methods and business people as it is of racketeering. Tucker himself had his start in industry as it exists with full benefit of the law; unemployed, he began as a scab, to progress through union racketeering and bootlegging to become czar of the policy game in Harlem. Leo, another of Mr. Wolfert's leading characters, owned a garage before he got caught up in numbers: an honest man, his commodity was space, he sold air surrounded by four walls. What Mr. Wolfert is saying is that gangsters are very little different from their legitimate brothers. They have the same amount of principle, they are driven by the same fears and insecurities, "cutting the world to measure as they can and cutting themselves to measure where they have to." Keep piling pressure after pressure upon people—emotional and economic pressure—and you drive them to destroy themselves and one another; and in such a society the distinction between right and wrong becomes at last a mere legalism.

But "Tucker's People" is not a crude thesis novel. There is

RESORTS

In the Heart of The Adirondacks
SCAROON MANOR
HOTEL on SCHROON LAKE, N.Y.
9 HOLE GOLF COURSE ON PREMISES
9 Clay Tennis Courts
8 Handball Courts
Complete Social and Sport Staffs
N. Y. OFFICE: BA 7-1970
ON FURLOUGH? 20% DISCOUNT TO ALL MEN IN THE ARMED FORCES

QUISISANA CAMPS
At Center Lovell, in Maine's Pine Woods in the White Mountain Region
SITUATED ON LAKE KEZAR, The Most Beautiful Lake in U. S. A.
QUAINT • RESTFUL • ROMANTIC
Cheerful individual cottages with bath, fireplaces, electricity. Main Lodge rooms with or without private bath. Food of highest quality, wholesome, tempting. Golf, tennis, boating, swimming, natural sand beach. Excellent fishing: Salmon, Black Bass. Convenient train or bus transportation. We meet all trains and buses. Non-Sectarian. Ownership-Management. Make reservations early either direct or through "Ask Mr. Foster" Travel Service.
Weekly Rates from $45 American Plan—Lower Rates during June to July 15
WRITE FOR BOOKLET QUISISANA CAMPS, CENTER LOVELL, MAINE

AMUSEMENTS

PARAMOUNT BROADWAY and 43rd Street
BING CROSBY and DOROTHY LAMOUR
in
DIXIE
In Technicolor Plus Stage Show

New EARLY Deadlines for Nation Advertising

•

Tuesday, 11 days before date of publication, is the new closing day for space reservations and copy to set in *The Nation*. Plates or final OK's are required by Friday preceding the week of issue. These new deadlines are now in effect.

The coöperation of all advertisers is requested so that we may make this change without undue difficulty.

•

Advertising Department
THE NATION
55 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no mention of economic or political theory, not a single slogan or call to reform. In the sense that Mr. Wolfert is attacking the entire system of capitalism, he has of course written a "radical" novel, but it is in the sense that his method is the method neither of pamphleteering nor of rabble-rousing but the method of anatomizing society by anatomizing people, that his novel is truly radical. Which comes first, a good society or good people? Mr. Wolfert makes no attempt to answer simple-minded questions. He is a diagnostician; he has no easy cures. But at least he cuts through the whole bleary notion that all you have to do is drop the "Communist Manifesto" in the social slot machine and out will come a whole society of smiling Workers and Peasants. It is significant—indeed, it is of the essence of Mr. Wolfert's view of the unhappy condition of modern life—that his novel draws so heavily upon the insights of psychoanalysis. The fact that his use of what he has learned from psychoanalysis is too heavy-handed—too theoretical and too clinical to serve the best purposes of fiction—may diminish its effectiveness; it in no way invalidates, as an approach, Mr. Wolfert's modulated conception of the relationship between group and individual.

In the last months of Russian victories on the battlefields there has been quite a spate of "radical" novels. As I think back on them, it occurs to me that one thing all their authors have in common is the need to protest their own virtue. In one way or another the novels of Joseph Freeman, Ruth McKenney, Michael Blankfort are all of them long wails of self-justification: "I am in favor of the poor people," "I apologize for my own success," "I am in favor of justice," "I am honest," "I try to be good." But logically enough, Mr. Wolfert protests not at all. He is completely out of his book, and consequently, in the fine paradox of art, he is everywhere in his book—and its best creation. Yet unfortunately, respect and fondness for the author of a novel, while so rare these days as to be startling, are not sufficient substitutes for respect and fondness for his characters. And although we understand Mr. Wolfert's racketeers and feel sorry for them, there is no character in "Tucker's People" whom we love. It is the prime failure of the book, my major qualification in recommending it as a really enjoyable novel. Nor do I think this is due simply to the difficulty we experience in identifying ourselves with gangsters; after all, we are not Moors, but we can identify ourselves with and love Othello. I hope that Mr. Wolfert's inability to involve us deeply, personally, in the fate of his people is not a permanent weakness in his creative endowment but, like his mechanical use of psychoanalysis, part of the self-consciousness of a first novel, which will disappear as he continues to write fiction.

It is a wryly enlightening experience to read Ilya Erenburg's "The Fall of Paris" (Knopf, $3) in the same week with a novel like "Tucker's People." Mr. Erenburg's account of the French defeat is a novel chiefly by virtue of the fact that it is such inaccurate history—another of those literary demonstrations that the Communist Party is the only solution for the ills of the world, and another instance of the vital connection between a writer's prose and his political purpose. For Mr. Erenburg's vague, discontinuous, lifeless, impressionistic prose is the perfect instrument of his political partisanship. It is such a befuddling prose, it so beclouds the sequence of historical facts, that I very much doubt whether any but a reader fairly well acquainted with the complex history of modern Europe would realize that in 530 pages on the history of France between 1935 and 1940 there has been hardly a mention of Russia, except as a flag on the horizon, and except for one oblique reference to a newspaper headline, not a single mention of the Soviet-Nazi pact. It is Mr. Erenburg's one-eyed view of what happened in France in this period that while the French workers under Communist leadership clamored to destroy Nazism and die for France, they were sold out by the league between fascism and democracy. All his characters are puppets. On the one side, the side of betrayal and reaction, they are the puppets of ambition, confusion, gluttony, and sex; on the side of the Communists they are the puppets of innocence, courage, self-sacrifice, and even virginity. And what makes confusion twice confounded is that sprinkled among Mr. Erenburg's large cast of fictional characters are several historical figures—Blum, Laval, Daladier—who are intended, I suppose, to give the note of verisimilitudes to Mr. Erenburg's creations.

The difference between "The Fall of Paris" and "Tucker's People" is obvious. Perhaps more interesting is a comparison between "The Fall of Paris" and Aldanov's "The Fifth Seal." I remember that "The Fifth Seal" was thought by many people to be dead because it was anti-Soviet: certainly it was full of political despair. Well, "The Fall of Paris" is full of political hope. Also it is pro-Soviet. But it is one of the deadest books I have ever read.

DIANA TRILLING

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

THE NATION
55 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

NOTICE OF CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please enter my subscription to your magazine
☐ 1 Year $5 ☐ 2 Years $8 ☐ 3 Years $11
☐ Remittance is inclosed ☐ Bill me

Introductory Offer to New Subscribers ONLY:
☐ **13 Weeks $1**
Cash with order

Canada $1 a year extra
Foreign $1 a year extra
Pan American Union requires no extra postage

NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
.....
6-26-43

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECORDS

OUR text for today is this paragraph from a recent review: "Vladimir Golschmann, who conducted the fifth and last of the season's Serenades at the Museum of Modern Art last night, would seem to be the legitimate successor to Pierre Monteux (rarely heard here any more) in the French style of orchestral interpretation. Only one of the works . . . was of French origin; but all were rendered with that care for tonal delicacy and rhythmic solidity, for sensuousness, logic, and emotional dignity that mark the work of the best French orchestral maestri. For balance, precision, and an authority at once gracious and steely we have had no one like him here in recent years."

Words to make my tongue hang out of my mouth as I rushed, first, to Carnegie Hall to hear Monteux's first broadcast concert with the New York Philharmonic a few weeks ago. As it happened, I retained a twenty-year-old recollection of the silvery sound and beautiful finish of the Boston Symphony's playing under his direction until Koussevitzky's arrival; and on records recently there had been a couple of fine-sounding and well-proportioned performances with the San Francisco Symphony. I went, therefore, with expectations of good things to be heard; and these expectations were satisfied for a few minutes by the sound of "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the opening of the Overture to "Euryanthe." But then I began to hear things which made me wonder whether I was imagining them, until I knew beyond possibility of doubt that I really was hearing a coarseness and raucousness from woodwinds and brass individually and in groups that was without precedent in my experience of major orchestras led by major conductors. And there was no mistaking the faulty structural logic in the performances caused by the unsteadiness of pace, the disproportionate accelerations and retardations, crescendos and decrescendos. There are possible explanations of the technical defects: with an additional two or three hours of rehearsal Monteux might have achieved beauty of sonority and finish. But the musical defects represented only his own musical judgment, his own sense for structural proportion.

Then Golschmann. There was for years in the Columbia catalogue his performance of the Haydn Symphony No. 103 with the St. Louis Symphony, which was one of the worst performances on records. A year ago Victor issued a recording of his performance of the Couperin-Milhaud "La Sultane" music; and though one might suspect that Victor's recording engineers were responsible for some of the beauty of sound there was no doubt that the orchestra also was playing very beautifully. Next came the superbly recorded performance of Sibelius's Seventh Symphony, which had every appearance of a copy of Koussevitzky's performance —the result being an effective statement of the work, in which, however, one could perceive the absence of the refinements of sonority, execution, and style that Koussevitzky had achieved. And now comes a Victor set (942, $2.53) of Golschmann's performance of Prokofiev's "Classical Symphony." The recording engineers were less successful this time: the sound is marvelously spacious and distinct and true to timbre, but hard and brash. Even with its defects it is vastly better reproduction of orchestral sound than comes off the old Victor records of Koussevizky's performance; but what is poorly reproduced on these records is a performance that is right in pace, relaxed in feeling, marvelously beautiful in sonority and finish; whereas Golschmann's performance sounds as though he had decided this time to do everything differently from Koussevitzky: the first movement is slower, and comes out tensely over-deliberate; the second is much slower, and comes out dragging; the last movement is faster, an attempt at even more breath-taking virtuosity, and comes out over-driven and strained; and the result of this lack of "logic and emotional dignity" and of "balance, precision, and an authority at once gracious and steely," is a lack also of "tonal delicacy" and the like. But it is possible, of course, that all these succulent qualities were there to be heard at the Museum concert.

Also on Victor's June list is a Corelli Concerto in C major for organ and strings, edited by Malipiero, and played by E. Power Biggs with Fiedler's Sinfonietta (Set 492, $2.63). The music is characteristically engaging and lovely; the performance is straightforward and adequate, except for the heavily insensitive playing in the closing Allegro; and it is reproduced with the harshness of many of the Fiedler Sinfonietta recordings that were made a few years ago. The Concerto takes three sides; and on the fourth side is a little Corelli Sonata in D major for strings and organ—also quite engaging, adequately performed, and harshly recorded.

Columbia offers Mendelssohn's "Scotch" Symphony, performed by Mitropoulos with the Minneapolis Symphony (Set 540, $4.73). The work makes pleasant listening when it is suitably played; but Mendelssohn is not a composer for the tense, hard-driving style of Mitropoulos; and the orchestral sound which comes off the records is limited in range at both ends and badly balanced, so that the violins are too weak and are muffled and harsh in quality.

On a Columbia single disc (71463-D, $1.05) Egon Petri plays Busoni's piano transcriptions of Bach's Chorale-Preludes "Ich ruf' zu Dir," "In Dir ist Freude," "Wachet auf," and "Nun freu't euch, lieben Christen." The writing for piano is thick and muddy; and further lack of clarity is created at times by the playing and by the poorly balanced recording.

As its record classic for June and July Columbia has chosen another of the outstanding items in its catalogue —the two volumes of Bach's Brandenburg Concertos played by the Busch Chamber Players (Nos. 1-4 in Set 249, $8.67; Nos. 5-6 in Set 250, $6.83). The best works of the group are in Volume I; but even the ones I care little for—Nos. 1, 5, 6—I enjoy listening to in these wonderful performances that were recorded (in England) with such clarity, balance, and beauty of sound.

Several years ago my interest in a program that comprised a Bach Toccata, a Mozart Sonata, and Beethoven's "Diabelli" Variations led me to attend the recital of a pianist whose playing I knew nothing about. And what I heard caused me to write: "Set down Webster Aitken's debut . . . as one of the most notable events of this or any season; for it presented . . . a young man who is already a matured pianist, musician, and artist. . . ." Mr. Aitken is to play the "Diabelli" Variations at the Frick Collection on June 27; and it is something you would do well to hear.

B. H. HAGGIN

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 55 Fifth Ave., New York. Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, $1. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Riding High

Dear Sirs: The ban on pleasure driving may be going down well on the seaboard, but on this perhaps selfish issue the Administration is ruining its last foundation of good-will among the middle classes in western Pennsylvania. It is felt here that Ickes has not the guts to stand up to the vociferous Middle West and intends to confine the ban to the East. As this section abounds in gasoline, which is produced right here and shipped west to Ohio, only a few miles away, where it is used without restrictions, the public feels no patriotic issue is involved. Ohio cars pleasure-drive over our hills with abandon, even though they choose to buy our Pennsylvania gas here instead of in Ohio. Not only do Ohio and the other Middle Western states get more gas on their coupons, but the OPA has learned that illegal coupons virtually are flooding the country, and if there is no checkup on pleasure driving the public will get and use them ad infinitum.

The release of restrictions on the recapping of tires and the easing of requirements for new tires has aggravated the situation, as the public now feels that all it has to do is to finagle the gasoline and it can ride high—except for the OPA pleasure ban. T. A. TENOR

Beaver Falls, Pa., June 14

C. O. L. in Canada

Dear Sirs: In the course of an editorial in your issue of May 8 dealing with Prices, Wages, and Taxes, you make the statement that "Canada has met this problem successfully by providing for an automatic increase in wages whenever the cost-of-living index rises 5 per cent."

The Canadian cost-of-living bonus is not quite so simple, nor is it quite so successful as your statement would seem to imply. The bonus is a flat rate paid regardless of the wage rate of the individual worker, and amounts to 25 cents per point rise in the index. The bonus is adjusted on fixed dates every three months if the C. O. L. index has varied by one point or more since the last adjustment.

The main grievances in connection with the bonus are that it has not been applied uniformly to all workers: that is to say, some groups of workers do not receive credit for the full seventeen-point rise in the index: also the bonus has had the effect of freezing substandard wages in certain groups of unorganized workers. Machinery exists for raising substandard wages, but first the workers must organize, and you must know that Canada has no Wagner Act. Need I say more? W. MC KAY

Quebec, Canada, June 9

Fascist Methods

Dear Sirs: The death of the famous Italian dramatist Roberto Bracco, recently reported in newspapers, recalls the fact that he, like his friend Benedetto Croce, remained a rabid anti-Fascist and that both suffered the consequences. Their homes were invaded by a mob of young Blackshirts and ransacked. But the method adopted against Bracco was particularly brutal; let me tell it as he told it to me.

Bracco was an old bachelor living with his mother. "When she died," he said, "I left her bedroom just as she had lived in it, with the bed made, the familiar things all around, and I used to go to her room once every day to commune with her spirit." One evening there was a knock at the front door; his old servant opened, and a dozen Blackshirts forced their way in. They rushed directly to his mother's room and demolished it. "Those cowards did not hurt me directly, but through my love for my mother."

Bracco was elected deputy from Campania in 1923 on the anti-Fascist ticket. He was threatened and even attacked in Rome because with fearless honesty he represented the convictions of his electorate and his own. He said to me: "My father was an honest man; I am an honest man; I did my duty regardless of opposition and danger, and here I am, now, in poverty. Mussolini has forbidden the presentation of my plays and all sale of my books. I am ruined."

After having published more than twenty volumes and produced plays that were applauded everywhere, he was reduced to utter want. But his spirit never yielded. And perhaps he saw, in his last months, that before long his enemy, the enemy of all real Italians and the destroyer of Italy, would soon get the punishment he so thoroughly deserves. We hope Bracco may have had that last satisfaction. RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI

Berkeley, Cal., May 7

Accurate Reporting

Dear Sirs: May I express my belated appreciation of Clement Greenberg's article Goose Step in Tishomingo in your issue of May 29. It's the kind of accurate reporting that usually doesn't come out of a war until afterward—when it's too late anyway. If you keep your eyes open and can tell a hawk from a handsaw, it may be possible to find more truth about the progress of the war in a small Southern town than many a reporter has brought back from Guadalcanal or even the gates of the Kremlin. My congratulations to you and to Greenberg. Such observations multiplied may produce a volume not unworthy to stand beside "The Enormous Room" by E. E. Cummings, the best of its particular genre to come out of the last war.

MILTON HINDUS

Brooklyn, N. Y., June 10

Open Letter to Louis Fischer

Dear Sir: Although I am not authorized by Winston Churchill to answer the open letter you addressed to him on India I hope you will not take it amiss if I venture to address you on the same subject.

You suggest that the Cripps offer should be repeated by the British government because "perhaps the parties have changed their mind." If this has, indeed, happened and those "parties" are really unanimous about Indian independence, why don't they, for a change, make a proposal to the British government?

Having been on the spot, you know probably better than I do that India is not a country but a world composed of native states and British provinces. Roughly speaking, there are 45 races speaking 200 languages, and countless cults, castes, and tribes fanatically adhering to their religious beliefs and social rules. Don't you think that an India made independent without a precedent agreement between 79,000,000 bellicose Moslems and 200,000,000 pacifist Hindus would be likely to result in a civil war which would be, indeed, an undesirable sideshow to the world conflagration? There seems to me nothing more dangerous than to apply our European or American political terminology to "Indian independence."

You see "a sharp contradiction be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tween the Cripps offer of independence" and Mr. Churchill's refusal to liquidate the British Empire. Presuming that you do not share the view of those isolationists who believe that the independence of some parts of the British Empire could be secured only within the United States, may I ask you whether you do not think that Ireland and South Africa are enjoying more independence than a good many sovereign states, in spite of the British "holding their own"? RUSTEM VAMBERY

New York, June 4

Black Market and OPA

Dear Sirs: I am calling attention to the following case for two reasons: (1) The basis for Prentiss Brown's optimism about the chances of curbing inflation should be publicized. (2) I should like to know whether OPA decrees can be enforced without a complainant's furnishing affidavits by witnesses who would not be willing to admit the guilt of black-market trading and without his receiving unfavorable publicity.

Recently a merchant friend informed his local OPA representative that many of his competitors were regularly selling rationed articles without taking ration stamps in return. He did not have to supply the names, for they were already known to the OPA man. My friend asked what could be done to stop the practice. Nothing, he was told. The OPA was not a police agency. If my friend wished, he might, however, file formal charges with the district office of the OPA, including affidavits of persons who had made such illegal purchases. Something might come of it.

My friend did not file the charges. Perhaps he shared or feared the general prejudice against the squealer. Perhaps he could not see the harm to himself except in the unfair competition and thought it not worth the bother. Perhaps he was just lazy. The important fact is that black-market trading by "legitimate" business houses in this small town continues, although it is well known to the OPA or its representatives.

It seems ridiculous for a governmental agency to wait for my friend to furnish the affidavits when they could be obtained much more easily by the agency's own investigators. I wonder, also, whether Mr. Brown hopes to persuade these business men of the poor sense of their ways by radio appeals or whether he considers their indiscretions unimportant. FRANK JACOBSON

Winter Haven, Fla., June 10

Still Available

Dear Sirs: The Nation of May 22 recalled the publication twenty-five years ago of A. A. Berle's book, "The World Significance of a Jewish State." You may be interested to know that a limited number of these books are still available from the Zionist Organization of America, 1720 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 9, D. C., for $1 a copy.

CARL ALPERT

Washington, D. C., May 28

Much Enjoyed

Dear Sirs: Members of our staff have very much enjoyed reading the story History Without Education by I. F. Stone in your April 17 issue. The article sensibly treats a matter of great moment in the history of American education.

BELMONT FARLEY,
Director of Public Relations,
National Education Association

Washington, D. C., June 3

CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES BOYD, historical novelist, publishes the *Pilot*, a liberal newspaper in Southern Pines, North Carolina. In 1941 he was a member of the Free Company, a group of ten writers who presented a series of radio programs that won the praise of liberals and the condemnation of the American Legion.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of Applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary, is now in England as a guest of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He is a contributing editor of *The Nation* and the author of "The Nature and Destiny of Man."

F. C. WEISKOPF, a German-Czech writer, worked from 1933 to 1938 on the largest anti-Henlein magazine published in the Sudetenland. Last year he published a novel, "Dawn Breaks."

LOUISE BOGAN has contributed verse and criticism to *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, *Poetry*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and other magazines. She reviews poetry regularly for the *New Yorker*. Her books of poetry include "Body of This Death" and "Sleeping Fury."

ALBERT GUERARD is professor of general literature at Stanford University. His most recent book is "The France of Tomorrow." Others are "Literature and Society" and "Art for Art's Sake."

LANGUAGES

"LANGUAGE IS A WEAPON"

■ ■ ■ Forge ahead, win special assignments, in global war and the ultimate peace, through ability to speak a foreign language.

MASTER ANOTHER LANGUAGE
quickly, easily, correctly
by LINGUAPHONE

The world-famous Linguaphone EAR-EYE Conversational Method brings voices of native teachers INTO YOUR OWN HOME. No English is spoken. You learn the new language by LISTENING.

Home-Study Courses in 29 Languages:
RUSSIAN JAPANESE SPANISH
PORTUGUESE CHINESE NORWEGIAN
and 23 others

Send for FREE book
LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
3 RCA Building, New York • Circle 7-0830

CLASSES IN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE
Four-Month Course
Beginners, Intermediate, and Advanced
Day and Evening
NEW CLASSES BEGIN JULY 12, 1943
REGISTRATION JULY 6th TO 10th
AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE
56 West 45th Street MUrray Hill 2-0312

WANTED TO PURCHASE

LINGUAPHONE. Any language. Indicate condition, number of records and books. LANGUAGE, Room 1203, 18 E. 41st St., N. Y. C.

REAL ESTATE

28-acre subsistence farm; unexcelled Berkshire view; barn; poultry house; pretty lawn; spring. $1500 full price! Free list of 300 farms. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, N. Y.

Your Kind of Customers!

More than 31,500 readers of *The Nation* will do what you are doing—read this advertisement. If you have something of interest to offer them—call *The Nation Advertising Department* for particulars as to space, cost and closing date of the next issue.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES:
62c a line (six words)
Minimum 3 lines
$6.16 an inch

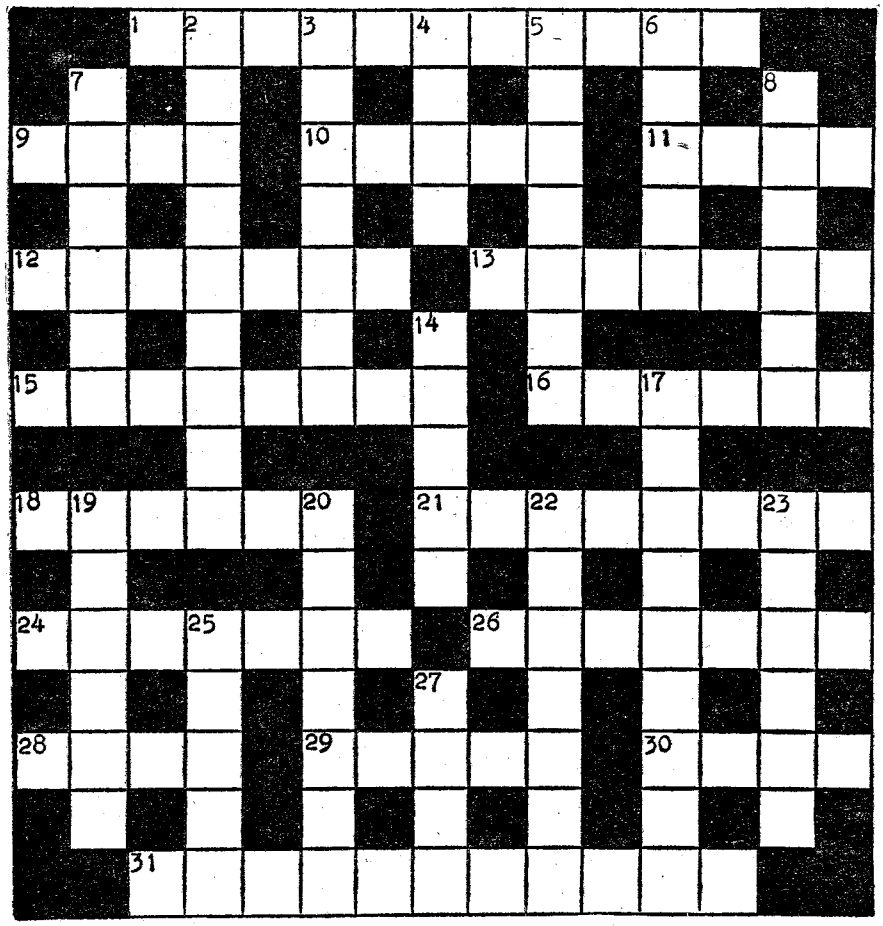
•

THE Nation
55 Fifth Ave. New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 19

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 This Victory Garden vegetable is not related to the dog rose
9 It grows on one
10 Has she a ward robe?
11 A cross word
12 Spoilt in bondage (two words, 4 and 3)
13 Attribute to a writer
15 Requisite for a clean sweep (two words, 3 and 5)
16 Disliking poetry
18 Silent about exercise in a public building
21 French windows and casements dispense with this (two words, 4 and 4)
24 Choose part of this plate
26 Needed to finance mass production, no doubt (two words, 4 and 3)
28 By Jove, you never hear it nowadays
29 Unsuitable, though there's a short sleep in it
30 Just one thing
31 Unemployed and unable to make ends meet (four words, 2, 1, 5 and 3)

DOWN

2 Consent qualified, but entirely willing
3 Go along in the old days (two words, 4 and 3)
4 This night includes many
5 Beyond the ocean with some poetry in it
6 This is the down to be under!
7 If you upset this Indian poet he is sure to rage
8 In plenty of time for the bus to this place
14 Collision with a tree finally
17 Is said to prove the rule, though it appears to disprove it
19 Often due to an imperfect cork
20 Many men today have exchanged a marital life for this one
22 Coal vessel, but no collier
23 Thoroughly stirred up, and the purpose in the cane is obvious
25 Rising young officer and a humorist at heart
27 An old Roman in a disguised coat

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 18

ACROSS:—1 SINGLESTICK; 9 EMPHASIS; 10 STUDIO; 11 MARRIED; 12 FIFTIES; 14 SMITHS; 15 STRENGTH; 17 STURGEON; 20 MOWRER; 22 MEASLES; 24 INTENSE; 26 SCRAPE; 27 AIR FLEET; 28 BEST SELLERS.

DOWN:—2 INHERITOR; 3 GAS JETS; 4 ELSE; 5 TASTIER; 6 COURT; 7 EMBALM; 8 FINEST; 13 USING; 16 NEW DEALER; 18 TRENCH; 19 ELEMENT; 20 MONGREL; 21 ENSUED; 23 STARE; 25 RAKE.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED

Jeeps and Jests. By Bruce Bairnsfather. Putnam's. $2.

Assignment to Nowhere: The Battle for Tunisia. By Lowell Bennett. Vanguard. $2.75.

Industrial Concentration Versus Small Business: The Trend of Nazi Policy. By Herbert Block. New School. 25 cents.

The Making of Modern Britain. By J. B. Brebner and Allan Nevins. Norton. $2.50.

A Five-Year Peace Plan: A Schedule for Peace Building. By Edward J. Byng. Coward-McCann. $2.

This Age of Conflict: A Contemporary World History, 1914-1943. By Frank P. Chambers, Christiana Phelps Grant, and Charles C. Bayley. Harcourt, Brace. $5.50.

The Survival of Western Culture: An Inquiry into the Problem of Its Decline and Resurgence. By Ralph Tyler Flewelling. Harper. $3.

Lady in Waiting: An Intimate Journal of a Labor of Love. By Rory Gallagher. Stephen Daye. $2.50.

The Luftwaffe: Its Rise and Fall. By Hauptmann Hermann. Putnam's. $3.

War in the Sun. By James Lansdale Hodson. Dial Press. $3.

Transport for War, 1942-1943. By Edward Hungerford. Dutton. $3.

The Cooperative Movement in the Americas. International Labor Office. 25 cents.

A Cooperative Economy: A Study of Democratic Economic Movements. By Benson Y. Landis. Harper. $2.

Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time. By Harold J. Laski. Viking. $2.50.

The Modern Democratic State. Volume I. By A. D. Lindsay. Oxford. $3.75.

The Fighting American. Edited, with an Introduction, by F. Van Wyck Mason. Reynal and Hitchcock. $4.50.

Up Periscope. By David Masters. Dial Press. $2.50.

History of Bigotry in the United States. By Gustavus Myers. Random House. $3.50.

The War on Cancer. By Edward Podolsky, M.D. Reinhold. $1.75.

A Preacher Looks at War. By Daniel A. Poling. Macmillan. $1.25.

The Ports of British Columbia. By Agnes Rothery. Doubleday, Doran. $3.

Duel for the Northland: The War of Enemy Agents in Scandinavia. By Kurt Singer. McBride. $2.75.

News Is What We Make It: A Running Story of the Working Press. By Kenneth Stewart. Houghton Mifflin. $3.

Balkan Firebrand: The Autobiography of a Rebel, Soldier, and Statesman. By Kosta Todorov. Ziff-Davis. $3.50.

India: A Bird's-Eye View. By Sir Frederick Whyte. Oxford. $1.

The Anatomy of Nonsense. By Yvor Winters. New Directions. $3.

The Expression of Personality: Experimental Depth Psychology. By Werner Wolff. Harper. $3.50.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED